ARCHÆOLOGIÆ
ATTICÆ
LIBRI SEPTEM

SEVEN BOOKS OF THE

ATTICK Antiquities.

CONTAINING

The diſcription of the Cities glory, government, diviſion of the People, and Townes within the *Athenian* Territories, their Religion, Superſtition, Sacrifices, Account of their Year, a full relation of their Judicatories. By *FRANCIS ROUS* Scholar of *Merton* College in *OXON.*

With an Addition of their Cuſtomes in Marriages, Burials, Feaſtings, Divinations, &c. in the four laſt books, By *ZACHARY BOGAN*, Scholar of *C. C. C.* in *OXON.*

The Eigth Edition Corrected and Enlarged, with a twofold Index, *Rerum* & *Vocabulorum.*

Ariſt. Περὶ κατὰ πλῆθος τὰς ἀκοὰς, ἐπερχόμεθα, μεῖζον ἔχοντες ἔργον, ὅ, τι φυλαξόμεθα ἢ ὅτῳ χρησόμεθα, εὑρεῖν.

OXFORD,
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TO THE

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL

Sr NATHANIEL BRENT Knight,
Vicar Generall, and the moſt vigilant
Warden *of* Merton College
in OXFORD, *Health,*
&c.

IT is the cuſtome of moſt, to impoſe a patronage of their errours upon ſome eminent perſon. But it ſhall be my ambition in this my Dedication to manifeſt my obſervancie. Others make their choice of potent men, thereby to ſhun the darts of envy: it ſhall be my glory to be thought worthy of invidency; whoſe ignorance is not ſo great, but well

knows that ever ſome will bite in ſecret; & ſcourge theſe errours of my youth with private reproaches. But ſuch malignant tongues I will counterpoiſe with the wind, and ſet as lightly by as they are vain. And although I am confidently perſwaded that the covert of your wings bee ſufficiently able to ſhelter my faults; yet had I rather to expreſſe my duty towards you in theſe naked infirmities, whoſe goodneſſe truly knows how * to pardon the bold adventures of Learning. I preſent you therefore With *Athens*, whoſe deplorable raggedneſſe my papers well reſemble: which may challenge this excuſe, that they aſſimulate themſelves to the Treatiſe in them contained; Which of all men, I my ſelf am conſcious moſt unfitly to have handled. That City once the * nurſe of reaſon; * which flouriſh'd in eloquence, & brave atchievements more than all *Greece*, could not, unleſſe in her miſerable ruines, have without her diſgrace been ſpoken of by me. That *Athens* whence the learned Fathers of the Church ſuckt rare literature, *Baſil* his eloquence

* Auſis literarum ignoſcere Vegerius in Prolog.

* Cic. Epiſt.
* Paterc. in fine Lib. 1.

eloquence, *Nazianzen* his ſtrength, & others their flowing Oratory: That *Athens* which who had not ſeene is by * *Liſippus* accounted a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, theſe Reliques of that famous Vniverſity, though by me offered, as Devotion paid to Antiquity, by you well eſteemed of, though among moſt of theſe our dayes accounted dirt; whoſe labour it is to ſeek new faſhions, and like nought; but what may be accounted novelty. Reſembling the brute, of which *Cicero, Ad id ſolum quod adeſt, quodq; præſens eſt ſe accommodat, paulum admodum ſentiens præteritum, &c.* never caring for what is paſt. But you weigh well the excellency of talking with thoſe Champions of Learning, hundreds of years ſince gathered to their former duſt, by whoſe penſils we ſee drawn the lively images of deceaſed Monarchs, the forms of government, & very lives of ſtates. Out of which patternes, if you pleaſe to deeme the leaſt part of this to have been taken, it ſhall heap to my joy that the following Tract will not ſeem a ſpurious and degenerate

* Apud Dicæarchum Εἰμὶ τῶ θέατα τᾶς Ἀθήνας, ἔλιξ & ἐτ.

generate ofspring. Upon preſumption of which I fear not, as the Eagles do their young, to expoſe my brood to the rayes of the open Sunne. Thus with continuall wiſhes for addition to your happineſſe, I take leave, From my Study in *Merton College* Jun. 9. 1637.

Your Worſhips in all humility

to be commanded

F. ROUS.

TO

To the READER.

IT *is not a thirſt of empty glory that makes me run the hazard of your cenſure, but a conſideration of the weakneſſe of School-Maſters, who undertake to read the Greek Orators to raw Scholars, themſelves being not ripe in the* Attick *Cuſtomes. I have therefore ſo farre endeavoured as you ſee. If any thing may afford a ſcruple to any, he ſhall engage mee that will require ſatisfaction. If any thing ſeem amiſſe, it ſhall be taken by mee as a favour to hear of it from any. For I am not of thoſe whoſe eares are ſtopt, when their errours*

are

are told them. If this pleaſe, it ſhall adde ſpurres to the finiſhing of this courſe intended, & as occaſion may give leave, you ſhall have the reſt that may be ſpoken.

Yours

F.R.

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Archæologiæ

ARCHÆOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ.

LIB. I. CAP. I.

Javan, Jas, Jaones, Jonia. Ἄτιννι, Ἀτλαὶα, ἀτλὴ. *Athenæ in actâ, Cecropiæ, Cranaæ. Atthis, Attica, Athenæ ſub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni. Plutarchi ea de re ſententia. Alii ſub Erectheo volunt nominari. Juſtinus ſub Amphictyone. Salenes. Selines. Satina. Sethina.*

BY the Sons of *Noah* * were the Iſles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his Tongue; when by their audacious folly they would have mounted up to Heaven, thinking to leave a name to Poſterity, by building Caſtles in the Air. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely a *ſcattering abroad* upon the face of the earth: he having ſpoken it, whoſe breath alone affords a fair wind: hoiſt then they muſt their Sails, and bidding adieu to the plain in the Land of *Shinar*, ſeek out ſome new habitation Travellers they were of yore, and yet ſtill muſt journey. Each one in as different a courſe, as of a divers language. The Sons of *Shem* their way, the Sons of *Japhet* theirs, *Gomer* and *Magog*, and *Madai*, and *Javan*, with whom I purpoſe one furlong to keep company, leaving the reſt on one ſide or other, or behind, looking only to my propoſed ſcope. b Ἀνὸ τῆ Ἰαν-

* Gen. 10. 5.

ατι

ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες γεγόνασι. From *Javan* came *Jonia* and *all the Greeks*. And in Scripture we have *Javan* put for *Greece*, in *Daniel* twice, *c And when I am gone forth, lo the Prince of Grecia shall come.* And again, *d He shall stir up all against the Realm of Grecia.* Where although the old Translation renders it not *Javan*, yet it is found in the Original. He then coming into the Countrey, called Afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was tearmed *Jonia* and *Jas*, ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο. *For Attica was anciently called Jonia and Jas.* In which words we still retain some reliques of the Radix, notwithstanding the small difference of the termination. But if we please to view after what title the *sons of Javan* were stiled *Jaones*, we shall come nearer home. *Strabo* in the above quoted place, Ὅταν τοίνυν εἴπῃ —Ἐρεχθέα Βοιωτὸν καὶ Ἰάονας — τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγει. *Homer*, when he saies, *There the Bœotians and Jaones*, speaks of the *Athenians*. The *Scholiast* of *Æschylus* on these Words,

ſ Ἰάονας γὰρ οἶχαι πόρας θέλων.

Ἰάονα δὲ τὸν Ἰάονος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγονται ἐκ τινος Ἰάονος Βασιλεύσαντος αὐτῶν. *It is to be understood*, quoth he, *that the Athenians are tearmed Jaones, from one Jaon* (he means *Iavan*) *that was their King.* Neither is it strange that the *vau* or ὕψιλὸν is left out; for though it be not written, yet perswaded I am, that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* Dipthongs were. For the *g* antique Latines & the Greeks spake it as broad, as if it had been *Thesaros*, not *Thesaurus*. Sir *Walter Raleigh* is of opinion, *That Asia the less had people before Grece had any, and that Iavan did not flie from Babylonia into Greece, but took Asia the less in his passage, and from thence past over the neareſt way, leaving his own name to some maritimate Province on that side, as he did to that part so called.* In which, although the authority of so worthy & judicious a Man might move much, yet it shall be sufficient for me, only to go so far, as antiquity will bear me out, *a Thucydides* reports, that it is manifest that all *Greece* was not βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, firmly inhabited, but that there were continual Pilgrimages, or Removings of the Inhabitants, forsaking their former places, being driven out by

b Joseph Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. p. 13.

c Dan. 10. 20.

d Cap. 11. 2.

e Strabo l. 9. p. 392.

f In persis p. 133.

g Donat. in Ter. p. 133.

by a ſtronger and greater number. Wherefore when there was no ſafe traffick or commerce by Sea or Land, each manured his Grounds to have Provent alone to ſerve for preſent neceſſity, deſiring no more than from hand to mouth; it being uncertain how ſoon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their ſeats; not taking grievous that ſharp charge, *veteres migrate coloni, Be gone yon ancient Bores.* But the more fertil Soil had hard bickrings. *Theſſalia*, *Bœotia*, and a great part of *Peloponneſus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled, Τὴν γὰρ Ἀττικὴν, διὰ τὸ ἐπιπλέεσθαι διὰ τὸ λεπτόγειον ἀεὶ στάσιαζον ὄσαν ἀνθρώποι οὖσαν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεί. *But Attica by reaſon of the thinneſs or barrenneſs of the ground, was always inhabited by the ſame men* (none it ſeems being willing to leave his better for a worſe) *not affording fuel to contention.* Out of which peace ſprung up ſo great a multitude that *Attica*, even now ſwarming, and οὐκ ἰκανὴν οὖσαν *not able to contain and feed ſo many*, is conſtrained to ſend forth Colonies into *Ionia*, a region of *Aſia* the leſs, which is reported by the *greeks* to borrow denomination from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*; or, as the Poets ſay, *Apollo* and *Creuſa*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be ὁ Κτίσας Ασιάδ' χθονὸς, *the maker or founder of Aſia*. The Mother *Ionia* (for ſo I pleaſe to ſay) kept not ſtill her former name, For in proceſs of time ſhe owned *Actæa*, from *Actæon*, as *d Strabo* ſayes, or from *Actæus*, according to *e Pauſanias*, who was the firſt King thereof, by *f Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*, called *Actæus*. But *g Dion Chryſoſtom* brings a more natural reaſon than this, why it was *Actæa*: *Acta* ſignifies a *ſhore*, both in the *Greek* and * *Latine* ſpeech. Now becauſe all of it within a little was waſhed with the Sea, and *h* ἀκτὴ τις, it might challenge unto it ſelf *Actæa*: *Dion.* ἀκτὴ γὰρ καθάπερ ὀλίγη πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆ θαλάττης, ὅσην ἡ γῆ τὴν ἠϊόνα λαβεῖν οἷον ἐκτὸς πεπᾶσαν. Hence Ακτὴ by the *Ænigmatical Poet* in his *i Caſſandra* is put for this Countrey. *Tzetzes. Becauſe it is* (*Acta*) *a cliffe, that is caſt and lying in the Sea.* And *Athens* herſelf by *Plautus* is ſaid, *Athenæ in acta, pro Athenis Atticis*, as *k Palmerius* hath noted. But this grew old af-

a Lib. 1 p. 2.

b Thucid.

c In Ione T. 2. p 619.

d Lib. 9 p. 397.
e In Att. p. 2.
f Pag. 23.
Orat. 6.
* Virg. Æn. 5. p. 213.
h Strabo l. 9. p. 391.

ter a ſeaſon, and *Cecrops* having married the Daughter of *Actæus*, glories in his *Cecropia*(and *Athens Cecropia, and Cecropis civitas*, and after that *Cranae*, from *Cranaus* the King that ſucceeded him. Jthis *Cranaus* among other of his daughters, had one *l Atthis*, from whom alſo was derived *Atthis* and *Attica*, next *Poſidonia* and *Minerva*, from *Neptune* and *Pallas*. In this region ſtood *Athens*, *Queen of Greece*, ſo called from that victory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when *Cecrops* moved with a Prodigie of a ſudden ſhooting up of an Olive, and bubling forth of a ſalt ſpring in the *Acropolis*, conſulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one did ſignifie *Neptune*, and the other *Minerva*, taking therefore the men into ſuffrages for *Neptune*, and the women for *Minerva*, who had moſt voices ſhould carrie it. The females being more, the Goddeſs bore away the Bell. Lo here a witty Divel to bring in ἴσα χωλεύς σκώς, Gods of his own making, to infold the ſuperſtitious in an ignorant zeal. However let us leave the ſhadow of poetical fictions, & take the true draught out of *Mythologie*, *Plutarch* is of opinion that the ancient Kings, ſtriving to draw away their Subjects from ſeafaring negotiations and a deſire to live by ſailing, unto tillage and manuring of ground, gave occaſion of the ſpeech that *Neptune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the City. Ἐκῆνοι &c. *Neptune* is put for the Sea, and buſineſſes thereof. *Minerva* for Arts and ingenious kind of life, nay ſaies *Ovid* in his Kalender, *Mille Dea eſt operum*, ſhe is Goddeſs of a 1000 Trades. Others ſay that the City was conſecrated to her by *Amphictyon*, *& nomen civitati Athenas dedit.* c *Juſtine*. Others in the time of *Erectheus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this name given. Wch Author *d Marcianus Heracleota* doth follow, ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνοις Ἐρεχθέως τὴν πόλιν ἠγεμόνα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τιμῶν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔθετο. This was that *Erectheus*, who in a time of drought over all the world except *Ægypt*, brought Corn to *Athens*, and taught the *Eleuſinian Myſteries*. Beholding this City hath been to *Ægypt* for other Kings, to wit, *e Cecrops* and *Meneſtheus*; for his Father *Petes* was an *Ægyptian*. In the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, and before him it was a receiv-

ed

3 Pag. 22.

4 In Spicilegiis.

l Strabo & Pauſ. locis præd.

a Varro apud Auguſt. l. 18. c. 9. de civit. Dei.

b in Them. p. 87. l. 23.

c Lib. 2.

ed opinion that *Athens* was peopled by the *Ægyptians*. *Saïs* in that tongue anſwering to *Athenæ* in *Greek*, as *Tzetzes* out of *Carax*. Nay that they ſhould be of the inhabitants of *Saïs*, they argue from this, Becauſe that the *Saitæ* and *Athenians* have divers cuſtoms alike. Witneſs *Diodorus Siculus*. But it pleaſes not me. I conjecture that firſt it was called *Athens*, when the people came more ſeriouſly to addict themſelves to civil Government, and ſtudy of good Literature; knowledge and art being aſcribed to *Minerva*; τῇ γὰρ Ἀθηνᾷ ἡ ἐπιστήμη σεσημείωται, ἐξ ὧν τεχνῶν, ſayes *f Ariſtotle*. Nay her Name being derived from thence, נתנה *Thena* in the *Chaldy* tongue ſignifying to *ſtudy* or *learn*: from wch comes *Thena*, and with an article *Hatthena* as *g Heincius* the moſt learned. As for the conceit of *Goropius Becan*, from *ana* the number of three, which notes eternity, and ſo from *hat-het-ana*. *Athena*. Becauſe wiſdom doth contain Eternity, let us ſend it back into *Germany*. Loe now *Athens* named from learning, which was once the *h ſhop of letters* and the Muſes, whereof it is now deplorably deſtitute, having loſt the glory of former *Athens*, nay the name it ſelf. For if we believe ſome, they tell us that now it is *Salenos* or *Selines*. To whom I accord not; becauſe that I have read *Selines* for *Megara* called *Niſæa*, which is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in diſcourſe with a native of *Peloponneſus*, who lived many years in that City, I had no other appellation frō him than *Athenæ*, which others write *Satina* corrupted as *Portus* and *Meurſius* truly think for ἀπὸ Ἀθηνᾶ. Nay *a Hugo Favolius* who was there himſelf, even to the ſame purpoſe, names it *Sethina*.

Undique ſic miſeræ nobis ſpectantur Athenæ,
Dadala quas Pallas ſeſe coluiſſe negaret,
Quas, Neptune pater, nunquam tua mœnia dicat,
Indigenæ Sethina vocant. ——
We wretched *Athens* round do veiw, which now,
Though once ingenuous *Pallas* love's her ſhame,
And t'have been thine, *Neptune*, would'ſt diſavow,
To which the homebred give *Sethina* name.

d ἐν Θεσ. ἡμέρ.

e Ariſtoph. ſch. pag. 79. Tzetz in Lycoph. p. 23

f Polit. l. 8. c 9.

g In Ariſtar. Sac. Synt. 1. 1. 1. pag. 27.

h Iſidor.

a In Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

CAP. II.

Athenarum ſitus. Ἄστυ πόλις. Ἀκρόπολις. *Herba lucentes, Murus, Pelaſgicus & Cimonius,* Propylæa. *Circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ.* Ἱππάδα & κάτω πόλις. *Piraei brachia. Murus Phalericus.* Portæ. *Aer. Lacus paſſim apud ſcriptores. Cephiſſus Fluvius.*

GReece, ſays *b Ariſtides*, is placed in the midſt of the whole Earth; and in the midſt of it ſtands *Attica*; the navel whereof is *Athens*, by which all *Greece*, cloſeted in the womb of time, received nouriſhment before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. She is ſeated upon a very high Rock, which habitations do incompaſs, as *c Strabo*: on the top of which ſtands that renowned Fabrick even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himſelf names * *Cecropia*; of old ἄστυ, *The city*, by a kind of excellence, in a bravado of their Antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetual contention with the *Argivi*. Witneſs *d Pauſanias* e *Terent. An in aſtu venit?* Donat. *Sic Athenienſes urbem ſuam vocabant, unde ipſi incolæ ἀστοὶ vocantur.* So, ſaith he, the *Athenians* called that City, whence the Citizens themſelves are called *aſtoi*: after that they called it πόλις; *f Pauſanias*. Which in his time was called Ἀκρόπολις or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx*, a Caſtle; which ever were ſacred to *Minerva*, as *g Ariſtides*. Who therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonauticks*, named *Diva retinens in ſummis urbibus arces*: *The Goddeſs that keeps the Turrets of Cities.* This only now remains the ſuccor and ſhelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being ſtrongly furniſhed with men and Arms, in which alone dwell Janizaries to the number of ſeven hundred thouſand as *Chriſtophorus Angelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing leaſt he had miſtaken the number. As for the Forces thereof *a Hugo Favolius* ſhall thus inſtruct you,

Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore montis eodem
Quæque impoſita jugo eſt, vaſtas proſpectat in undas

Æquoris

b In Panath. p. 171. 172.

* Plin. Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

c Lib. 9. p. 396.

d In Art. p. 13. l. 16.

e Eunuch. act. 5. ſc. 6.

f Attic. p. 24. l. 43.

Æquoris, & circum diſperſa mapalia, & omnes
Externo indigenas nocuo tutatur ab hoſte,
Nobilis arx, toto qua non eſt altera Graio
Nota magis regno, validiſque inſtructior armis,
Ignivomoque magis tormentorum impete tuta.

A Caſtle only famous at this day,
Set on an Hill, below which views the Sea.
The ſcattered thatcht ſheds that ſtand it about,
The Fort deſcends and keeps Invaſion out,
And Natives ſafe. A Fort, none noted more
In *Greece*, which hath a better Warlike ſtore,
Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

g Orat. in Minerv. To. 1. p. 21.

a Hodœp. Pyz. l. 3.

Upon the top of this Turret ſtands the faſhions of Half-Moons moſt rarely gilded, after the manner of the *Iſhmaelites*, who have the Moon in no ſmall honour, as my much honoured Mr *h Selden* hath obſerved. Of which Lunulets thus ſpeaks *Favolius*.

Cujus inauratis longe rutilantia Lunis
Ardua cœlivagas feriunt faſtigia nubes.

Whoſe top with gilded Moons aſpiring high,
Do knock the Cloudes the Pilgrims of the ſky.

Neither may it paſs obſcurely which I have taken up, being let fall frō the mouth of an eye-witneſs, namely, that on the ſide this Hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, grows a certain kind of herb, that farr off, in the night ſeaſon, gives a moſt ſhining and glittering light, to which when a man ſhall approach, he ſhall diſcern nothing but the herb it ſelf. Of which matter I ſeriouſly wiſh that I could teſtifie the truth. It was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit. The Walls that environ this are none now, ſaies *Favolius*, but in former time it hath been well fenced, ſome part thereof erected by thoſe two *Tuſcan* Brothers, who leaving their Countrey, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called πελαργοὶ, *Pelargi*, Storks, διὰ τὸν πλάνον, for their wandring, *a Strabo*. *b Plinie* ſays their names were *Eurialus* and *Hyperbius*. The two that firſt built houſes of Brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had Caves for dwelling places. But by the authority

b De Diis Syris, Syn. 2. cap. 2. p. 288.

authority of *Pauſanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author and the perſons wrong in putting a falſe name upon one of them, I will do them none. Read then *Laterarias domus conſtituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. *c Pauſanias*, φασὶ δὲ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπερβιον. From theſe was that part which they edified, called *Pelargicum. Ariſtophanes in Avibus.*

a Lib 9 pag. 397 b Nat. hiſt. l. 7 c. 65.

Τίς δ' ἂν κατθείξει τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν;

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Simon* the Son of *Miltiades* cloathed. *Pauſanias* in the fore quoted place. Theſe walls admitted no gate but one, ſo rarely beautified with that coſtly *Propylæum* or porch, on which *Pericles* is diſcommended by *d Demetrius Phalareus* for diſburſing ſo great a ſum of money. *e* For which he was not ſmally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people; His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore ſeeing Him ſomewhat ſad, and demanding the cauſe, to whom when his unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, ſeek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counſel the *Athenians* were entangled with their neighbour War againſt the *Lacedemonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit. By the *way* it ſhall be fit to acquaint y^th^ now thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as *f Plutarch* διὰ τὰ ἀκολάστους καὶ δυσώδεις, it may be, for his heat in Venery and ill ſavour. Goats likewiſe, ſays *g Varro*, came not thither, unleſs for a neceſſary ſacrifice once, leſt they ſhould hurt the *Olive*, which is ſaid firſt to have ſprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is ſaid to be threeſcore ſtadia Now a *Stadium* is about ſome* ſix hundred and twenty five feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the cuſtome of the ancient Greeks ſo to meaſure the length or diſtance of grounds or Cities, by the σταδία. The firſt City then is contained in ſeven miles and an halfe. But to this were added more houſes, able to make a City of themſelves. And ſo indeed were they diſtinguiſhed by ἡ ἄνω & ἡ κάτω πόλις. The upper and lower City. *h Plutarch*, ἀπὸ κάτω καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάττης συνῴκιζε τὴν ἄνω πόλιν διαφυλάττων. Note here moreover, in the reading

d Tul Off l 72.
e Val. Max. l 3 c. 1.
In Attic. p. 26. l. 34.
f Ἐλλωτικ. pag. 175.
g De re Ruſt.
* *Five feet make a Pace, and a thouſand paces a mile.*
Iſidor. Orig. l. 15. c. 16.
h In Phoc. p. 549. l. 47.

reading of your Greek Authors, that when you meet with πάνω in the *description* of a *Country*, you presently must conceive the higher part, if it be τὰ κάτω, the lower. *a Thucydides*, ἰοτεῖν τι καὶ ἀλλήλους τι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες ἐν θαλάσσῃ κάτω. ἔχουν. *And they preyed upon each other, and among the rest, who were not addicted to the Sea, yet lived below*, understand near the Sea, *Schol.* κάτω ἦσαν ἐγγὺς ἡ θαλάσσης. The τὸ ἄνω then and τὰ κάτω knit together, made but one joynt corporation, both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themselves, took up, as *b Dion Chrysostom* writes, two hundred *Stadia*, which is about five and twenty miles. Upon which place, *Morellius* produces a *Scholiast* testifying that the walls were πλέον ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων ἦν, fifteen miles save one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had not soon perceived the number to have been corrupt, and written κε for ιε, twentyfive for fifteen; for so it ought to be. Neither is it strange that it had so large a bound. For consider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned five miles, as you may see in *c Pliny*, from *Athens* to *Phalerum*, and so to the other side of *Piræum*, four miles and a quarter. The utmost wall of which *Thucydides* speaks in the second Book, consisted of five miles a quarter and half. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munychia* had seven miles and an half more. All which being put together, makes up but twenty two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chrysostom* must be here understood; and it behoves us to conceive that he spake not barely of the naked walls, for then it cannot hold; but I suppose some houses to have been without *d* τεῖχος ἢ φρούριον, as he saies, τὰ δὲ τείχη, οἰκεῖται γὰρ πάλαι καὶ ταῦτα ξύμπαντα. In which I appeal to more judicious heads. Neither can I silently pass by the opinion of *John Meursius*, who reading in *e Pausanias* these words, Αθηναίοις μὲν δὴ σταδίους μάλιστα εἴκοσιν ἀφεῖκτο τοῦ πόλεως ἡ πρὸς φαληρῷ θάλασσα, should presently obtrude to us, that *Pausanias* teaches, that the *f* wall called *Phalericus* is but twenty *Stadia*, or two mile and an half. When indeed he meant nothing less. For speaking of salt springs, which he calls θαλάσσης ῥεύματα, he seems to involve a reason drawn from the nearness of the Sea. For when he

a Lib. 1. pag. 6. 2.

b Orat. 6.

c Nat. hist. l. 2. c. 85.

d Loco citato.

e In Aread. p. 244. l. 37.

f Att. Lect. l. 3. c. 4.

writes, of this brackish well, *Among the Athenians, the Sea which comes up near Phalerus, is distant from the City but twenty stadia at the most*, quoth he. Where *Amalasus* hath thus strangly doted. *Athenæ à Phalero absunt stadia haud amplius xx.* And that this was the meaning of the Author, proves that which follows. He might have likewise considered that πρὸς with a Dative case, signifies not only *juxta* and *prope*, as I have translated it, but *supra* sometimes, which will now serve better. And *Meursius* indeed blames the number, but sees not into the words. Now it is not needless that the two walls, which joyn *Piræum* and *Athens* at so long a distance, be somewhat spoken of, seeing they are reckoned by *a Livie* among the *multa visenda*, Many things worthy of sight at *Athens*. These are the μακρὰ τείχη, in *b Propertius*, *These a brachia longa viæ*. *c Appian* of *Alexandria* μακρὰ σκέλη, and *d Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which *e Plutarch*. The other towards the South, in height about forty Cubits, as *f Appian* testifies. These are called διὰ μέσου τείχη by *g Dion Chrysostom*, because *Athens* being at one end, and *Pyreum* at the other, these were drawn forth between. And when Writers speak of Νότιον διὰ μέσου τοῦ χου, it may be conjectured that 'tis for distinction of that Νότιον τοῦ χου in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, *h* witness *Pausanias*. *Aristophanes* seems to bring authority for an opinion that *Themistocles* built these. *In i Equitibus:*

Τὸν Πειραιᾶ ᾠκοδόμηξεν.

Which his *k* Scholiast affirms, Τὸν δὲ Πειραιᾶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ᾠκοδόμησε πρὸς τῇ πόλει. *For Themistocles added Piræum to the City.* We read in *l Probus* that he was the onely Agent in walling the City, & that he so hastned the accomplishing that they were fain to be as it were Sacrilegious, and make use of Materials formerly consecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But *Plutarch* gain saies this, and that he did only τὴν πόλιν ἐξάψαι τῷ πειραιεῖ, καὶ τὴν γλυκεῖαν θαλάττῃ, conjoyn the City and *Piræum*, and put the Land to take acquaintance with the Sea. It seems somewhat forward before. However, so fenny was the ground it was founded upon,

a Lib. 31.
b Lib. 3. Eleg. 19. p. 192.
c In bello Mith. p. 125. l. 9.
d Pag. 355. l. 13.
e In pericle. p. 115. l. 20.
f In Mith. p. 125. l. ult.
g Orat. 6.
h I Attic. p. 29 l. 8.
i p. 337.
k p. 337. A. col. 2.
l In Them p. 27.
m In Them. p. 87. l. 25.
n Plut. in Cim. p. 355. l. 14.

upon, that the work soon came to great reparation, which *a Cimon* the son of *Miltiades* undertook. For with Stones of a huge weight, and Lime, he made the Earth so firm that it could not give. Nay he was so liberal, that he did out of his own expenses so great favours to a People, that some years after gratifyed him with exile. Neither did he only mend the breaches, but in after time *o* finished the whole work, so that he may truely be said to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. * *Meursius* hath observed ten, but I fear they will scarce suffice to such a vast City. Take then these, *Dipylon* or *Thriasia*, the faireſt of all, *velut in ore urbis posita*, placed as it were in the front of the City, layes *Livie, major aliquanto patentiorquè quàm cætera est*, greater somewhat and wider than the rest. Hence I suppose named *Dipylon*, as if it were as big as two Gates. Πειραϊκαὶ. *Piraica*, neer the Temple of *Chalcodoon*. Here were buried some of those that died in fight wth the *Amazons* in the time of *Theseus*. *q Plutarch.* Ἱππάδες, *Hippades*, where the bones of *Hyperides* the famous Orator rest with his Progenitors, who being racked under *Antipater*, chose rather to bite off his tongue, than to divulge the secrets of his countrey. *a* Ἱερὰι, *Sacræ*, the Sacred Gate. We read of this in *b Theophrastus's Characters*; but to my great admiratiõ that the Eagle-sighted *Casaubon* had not espy'd a fault. For though it be true that there were such gates at *Athens* as Ἱεραὶ, yet is there any that ever read μετὰ τὰς Ἱερὰς πύλας ἐξενεχθῆναι νεκρὸν, the dead to have been carried out to burial through the sacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was spoken to a stupid fellow, for they spake not as our vulgar do, such as *when Christmas comes out of Wales*, write then Ἐλεὰ. Ἐλεὰ are the gates at which they went forth with their corps at the solemnizations of their obsequies, the reason of which shall be spoken hereafter. *c Demosthenes*, Αἰγίδος πύλαι, The gates of *Ægeus*. It seems to have been in *Delphinium* where he dwelt, whence the *Hermes* or Image towards the East end of the Temple was called *d* Ἑρμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγίδι, *The statue at the gates of Ægeus*; Μιλτιάδου Μελίτιδος, Where lyes *Thucidides* the son of *Olorus*

o Plut. p. 355 *l.* 12. *unless* τὸ ὕστερον *may have respect to Conon, who after the victory at Cnidus erected these walls, as* Pausan. in Attic. *p.* 2. *l.* 14. *I would neither deceive my self nor the Reader.*

* Attic. Lect. Initio.

p Dec. 4. *l.* 1. *p.* 11. A.

q In Theseo. *p.* 2. *l.* 20.

a ἐν βίοις τ῀ Ἰσοκράτους *p.* 456.

b περὶ ἀκρατείας *p.* 45.

c Demosthenes *p.* 715. num. 95.

d Plut. Thes. *p.* 4. *l.* 21.

Olorus that wrote the *Peloponeſian War*, who after his return into his countrey from baniſhment, was treacherouſly murthered, his Sepulchre ſtands neer theſe gates. *e Pauſanias* Κεραμικὸς, *Ceramicus*. Theſe are called by *Xenophon* αἱ ἐν τῷ Κεραμικῷ πύλαι *The gates in Ceramicus*, where many of the *Lacedemonians* were buried, wᵗʰ died in the ſeditious War, that *Thraſybulus* made againſt the *Thirty Tyrants*. *f Xenophon*. Διοχάρους πύλαι, The gates of *Diochares*. Of whom I have nought to ſpeak. Ἀχαρνικαὶ πύλαι, the *Acharnan gates*. I ſuppoſe they were called ſo from the Town or Village neer, named *Acharna*, to which it is probable it looked. For ſo did the ancients name their Gates from the Town to which they were neer. The *Romans* their *porta Collatina*, from *Collatia*, a Bridge not far off. And happily it is ſo here, as alſo in Δήμεια, *Diomea*; for *Diomus* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter diſtant from the City. Θρᾳκίαι, *Thraciæ*. Theſe are all that I met with named. Others there are obſcurely pointed at by *g Pauſanias*, as that neer the Gallery, which from its various draughts, they call *Pœcile*, where is the effigies of *Mercurie Agoræus* in braſs. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of wᵗʰ I had better hold my peace, than ſpeak as good as nothing. Thus have we found twelve gates which being opened, enter, ſuck that ſweet air, whoſe excellent purity brought forth ſuch acute wits, and prepared with a moſt happy bounty underſtanding judgments for contemplation. Whence *Euripides* may well ſtrein to this note, that *Venus* ſitting neer and adorning herſelf, ſends forth continually *Cupids of Learning*, παιδεύσεως ἐρέτας ξυνεργούς. Well may he bleſſe that clime ſtiling it, ἀκμαιοτόκον καὶ θεᾶς, which hath been the mother of the *Muſes* (by the leave of *Mnemoſyne*) or at leaſt the Nurſe to them, for there are they ſaid to have travelled with *Harmonia*, as if there were no ſuch melodious concent, as in the Sciences. Let not *d Theophraſtus* aſſert all *Greece* to lie under the ſame temperature & diſpoſition of the heavens, when at this day it may be ſpoken, as once *Ariſtides* did of it, *e* No coaſt ſo truly void of all earthly dregs, and participating more

e Atticis p. 21. l. 41.

f Ἑλλωτικ. C p. 278. l. 43.

Meurſius *hath added two*, Itoneæ, & Scæa, in Atticis, *which I never ſaw until I had written this place, as God and man is witneſs. I ſpeak leaſt any ſhould think I have ſtolen out of him, becauſe we meet.*

g Atticis p. 14. c. 11. *a* Caſſiod. Var. l. 12. *b* Medea p. 460, 461. *c* Med. p. 459. *d* In Præf. ad Charact. *e* Tom. 1. p. 173.

more of the celestial and defecated air. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* been lavish in expressions, *f Famous*, *g The most renounced*, h *Happy*, i *Sacred* Athens. *Pindarus*, k *Wonderful*, l *much spoken of*, m *Neat*, *&c.* To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephissus*, which is able to bear Vessels of a good burthen, as I have been informed, but the *Turks* fearing least it might be advantagious to an enemy that might invade them, have cut it into many & sundry little streams, damming up with an innumerable quantity of stones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they have sufficiently prevented that, which they did but suppose could happen.

f Aia. p. 57.
g Oed. Col. p. 258.
h Oed. Col. p. 264.
i Aia. p. 71.
k l m p. 392.

CAP. III.

Ἀττικοὶ, Ἀθηναῖοι, Mores, & Ingenia. τὸ μισοβάρβαρον. Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus; & qualem vitæ rationem modumque habent.

THe *Athenians* by *l Dicearchus* are divided into two sorts Ἀττικοὺς, *Atticos*, and Ἀθηναίους. Of which, though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Insomuch as one of the punishments, which the *Athenians* are said to inflict upon their women (for the appeasing of *Neptune*, bringing in an inudation upon their fields to their great damage, in anger conceived for loss of the Title of the City) was this, *m* That none should after call them Ἀθηναίους, *Athenians*, but Ἀττικὰς, *Atticos*. A revenge I suppose opprobious enough. For thus writes my Author. Οἱ μὲν φιλέρριπτοι ταῖς λαλιαῖς ὄντες, συκοφάνται δόλιοι, παράσημοι τῇ ξενικῇ Cicer. *Curious babblers, Deceitful, Calumniators, Observers of the lives of strangers.* Πεφίεργοι ταῖς λαλιαῖς. A sufficient witness of this is *a* St. *Luke*, that saies, *They did regard nothing more than to hear and speak novelty.* To which end they often met in Barbers shops, where all news, that was going in those days, were currant. Hence say we, *verba in tonstrinis proculcata*; and in Greek ἐπὶ τοῖς κυρηβίοις λόγος, *b Aristophanes*,

l ἐν τῷ Ἑλλάδος. p. 169.
m Varro apud Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 18. c. 9.
a Act. 17.
b In Pluto p. 38.

Καὶ

Καὶ τοι λόγ☉ γ'ὧν, νὴ Ἡρακλέα, πολὺς
Ἐξῆ τοῖσι κειρομένοισι παρὰ μιθύων
Ὅς ἐξαίφνης ἀνὴρ γεγένηται πλούσι☉.

They that late in Barbers shops did talk much that he was suddenly grown rich. The Scholiast seems to take the meaning, as if the Comedian had quipped them for resorting to Barbers, and neglecting Barber Chyrurgions, of better credit. But I see no reason. They met in both to prattle, *c Alian.* Καθεζόμενοι ἐν ἰατρείῳ, ψογεροὶ, καὶ ἡκιστ' ἀγοραῖοι εἰς πᾶν ἥδιστα λοιδορῆσαι. Sitting in a Chyrurgions shop, scandalous, and thirsty to speak ill by all means, ὑπόπλοι, men Italianated, who can smile even when they cut your throat. Such as *Theophrastus* hath in his Characters drawn out, who can be affable to their Enemies, and disguise their hatred in commendation, while they privily lay their snares; that salute with mortal Embracements, and clasp you in those armes, which they mean to embrew in your dearest Blood. In sum, fair without, but rotten within, like a Wound which is healed above and seems sound, but putrifies under the skin. And so much the word doth import. Συκοφαντώδεις, Given to false accusations. The Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes, That it being forbidden to carry Figs out of *Athens*, and some, nevertheless the Decree being absolute against it, presuming so to do, they set Rogues in the Gates that did appeach them (as *f Plutarch* likewise.) Hence came this word to be used for any crafty Knave that gets his living by promoting, *g* Σὺ συκοφαντίαν ζῇς. One that meddles in every mans affairs, and therefore *h Aristophanes* hath fitly brought one upon the Stage, tearming himself an *Overseer* both of private and publick matters. If then such a person had espied any tripping, and gotten him on the hip, he would as sure have fetched him over for his Coyn, as any *Summoner* doth a person delinquent towards the flesh, or any Lawyer a Credulous Client, and having wel plumed him, afterwards give him a Dimissory. Ἐκεῖνοι (*Sycophantæ*) ὧν ὁ πατὴρ ὢν χρήματα λαμβάνων, ζῆν οὐκ ἐᾶν. *Xenophon.* Such were many in *Athens*, insomuch that *Aristotle* being asked what *Athens* was, answered πανήγυριν, *all be-mutiful,*

c Var. hist lib. 3. c. 7.

d Cap. περὶ ἀγροικίας.

e In Plut. pag. 5.

f In Solone pag. 65.
g Xenophon. Ἑλλην. β. p. 271. l. 20.
h pluto p. 90. c. p. 61. b.

i Ἑλλην. β. p. 272. l. 19.
k Οδυσσ. π.

beautiful, ἀλλ' ὄχνῃ ἐπ' ὄχνῃ γηρᾴσκει, σῦκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ, in a verse of *a Homer*, in the description of *Alcinous* his Garden, but pears grew ripe after pears, and figgs after figgs, meaning a continual succession of sycophants, this made *Isocrates* the Orator to compare the city to a *Curtizan* wth whom few there were but would have to do, yet none dare take to wife; affirming it the best place to sojourn in, but the worst to inhabit: By reason of their Sycophants and treacheries of nimble tongued Orators. Παραπεπλῆσθαι δὴ ξενικῶν βίων. I was once half in an opinion that these words were to have been put to the former, thus; συκοφαντῶν δὲ καὶ παραπεπλῆσθαι δὴ ξενικῶν βίων. And I think the sence will run well, *Malitious observers of the lives of strangers.* The *Athenians* were εὐξενοι, and held hospitality sacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law, *That forrainers should receive no wrong*, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται. *b Socrates* in *Xenophon*. Now he discommends the Αττικοὶ as ready to trouble and vex strangers in law, duly marking & bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage. As for the *Athenienses* they were μεγαλόψυχοι, ἁπλοῖ τὴν τρόπον, εἰλικρινῆ φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, *Brave spirited, single dealing, & faithful friends.* But as the words were at length confounded, so did their manners *degenerate* growing into ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς φύσεως an *Irregularity of nature* as *c Polybius*. No, μεγαλοψυχία afterwards, but haughtiness of spirit, magnanimity now fallen. And when *d Livy* says, *Ex vetere fortuna nihil prater animos servare*, he means, they had nothing left but those proud spirits; which their ancient flourishing fortune hath puffed up. No ἁπλότης or simplicity, *no e lamb-like innocency*, or *mildness*; but as *f Plutarch* speaks, *people rashly angry, soon pittiful, rather inclined sharply to take Opinion, than quietly to be Enformed. And as they are ready to help base and abject peasants, so friendly do they entertain childish and ridiculous toyes, rejoycing in their own praises, and nothing moved with scurrility, Fearful and terrible even to their Governors, humane towards their Enemies.* Not unfitly then *g Valerius Maximus*, *Quantam ergo reprehensionem merentur, &c.* How deserve they to be blamed who though they had just laws, yet had most wicked disposi-

b Απομνημ. β. p. 4. 28.

c Lib. 6.

d Dec. 4. p. 7. l. 1.

e Aristoph. pag. 694.

f πολιτ. παιδ. p. 387.

g Lib. 5. c. 3. pag. 207.

tions,

tions, and chose rather to take their own courses, than put in practice their statutes? As for their impudence, so great was it, that to express a countenance void of shame, the Comœdian hath put Ἀθηναῖον βλέπειν, An *Athenian look*, in h *Nubibus*: ἀλλὰ γνήσιοι ἐλλάνες, So accounted in the time of *a Paterculus*, that what was done in sincerity and faithful trust, the *Romans* would say it was performed *fide Attica*, with an *Athenian* loyalty. Fear and power might make them trusty, but how they broke their Leagues, took part with other *Islanders* against confederates, and violated the Laws of arms, Histories are not dumb. As for their wrath, it was ἀνάμνηστος, ever mindful, as *b Virgil memor iræ*. And the hatred they prosecuted the Barbarians withall, was so unquenchable, that it burned against *c* all *Barbarians* for the *Persians* sake; and they forbad them their Sacrifices, as they used to do murderers among them: Where you must note, that all that were not *Græcians* were called of them *Barbarians*. But loe! how are they now become all *barbarous!* whether or no people of *Africa*, or some of the *Catelani*, I cannot justly tell, *Mahumetans* all, poor and miserable, living by rapine, or fishing, or tilling the earth, *d Favolius*. *Duraq; coacti*

Pauperie assuerunt vitam tolerare rapinâ.
Aut passim infestant furto, raptoq; propinqua
Æquora piratæ, sed quæ pars æquior, hamis
Fallit inescatos tereti sub arundine pisces.
Aut desolatas exercet vomere terras,
Semper inops, misera, infelix, rerum omnium egena.

Oppresst with need, they do their life sustain
By rapine, and annoy the neighbour main
With pillaging. Who are more just and good,
With angling do the silly fish delude;
Or plough the grounds made desolate before,
Unhappy, wretched, mis'rable, still poor.

b Pag. 189, g.
a Lib. 2. p. 47.
1 Æneid. 1.
c Isocrat. in Pan. 109.
d Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De populi divisione, Εὐπατρίδαι. Γεωμόροι. Δημιουργοί. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. Ἱππεῖς. Ζευγῖται. Θῆτες. *Quid Athenienſibus cum Ægyptiis commune.*

THere were at firſt two kinds of People in *Athens*, e two orders, *quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæq; aliquid interlucebat*, in which there was difference of dignity and fortune: ſuch as at this day are in *France*, either Peers or Peaſants; or as in *Venice*, *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. And although *Pollux* calls them τρία γένη, three ſorts, yet I make but two, becauſe the γεωμόροι were not any way more gentile for blood, ſurpaſſing for riches, or happy for life But becauſe he hath ſo ſet them, take them thus, as he ſpeaks, *a* τρία γένη ἦσαν πάλαι, Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιουργοί. Εὐπατρίδαι, *Eupatridæ*, were ſuch as were deſcended from the loyns of thoſe *Heroes*, famous in *Greek Hiſtory*, whoſe families were ever renowned, and poſterity propagated to many generations, ſuch as *Praxiergidæ*, *Eteobutadæ*, *Alcmæonidæ*, *Cynidæ*, *Ceryces*. *&c.* whom we may term Nobles, or men of good birth Γεωμόροι, *Geomori*, may not ſeem unlike our Yeomen, who had land of their own, and ſuſtained themſelves with the fruit and commodity of theſe their poſſeſſion. Δημιουργοί, *Demiurgi*, were men of ſome handy-craft, Tradeſ-men, ſuch as Tent-makers, Shoo-makers, Carpenters, Maſons & the like. But *Solon* made another diviſion. For when the *Diacrii*, which were thoſe that lived in the upper part of the City, οἱ ἐξ ἄστεως, ſays *Diogenes Laertius*; and the *Pediæi*, which likewiſe are πεδιεῖς, ſuch as lived in the middle of the City, or the Plain. And the *Paralii* who lived near the Sea, were at contention about Government. The *Diacrii* leaning to a Democratie, as *e Plutarch* writes, the *Pediæi* to an Oligarchy, and the *Paralii* between both, and had choſen *Solen* to arbitrate and determine the matter; he make theſe four ranks. πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, ἱππεῖς, ζευγῖται, θῆτες, *Pentacoſiomedimnes*, *Equites*, *Zeugites*, *Thetes*.

e *So doth* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, *divide them in* εὐπατρίδας & ἀγροίκους, lib. 2. n. 2.

a Pollux. l. 8. c. 9. p. 404.

b In Solone.

e Pag. 61. In Solonem.

Pentacosiomedimni were those who ἐκ ξηρῶν τε καὶ ὑγρῶν could make five hundred measures in wet and dry commodities alike. What *Possardus* then brings out of *Varro* concerning *medium*, hath no place here; for he supposes that *Pentacosiomedimnus* was he that had as much ground as fifty *Medimni* could suffice to sow; but here I will confute him with a wet finger, εἰς ὑγρόν: For he seems to sow upon the waters. This is he whom the *Elzivirii* printed at *Leyden*, *An.* 1635. under the name of *Postellus*, who was sometimes a Professor of Tongues in *France*, and Author of the Treatise *de Magistratibus Atheniensium*. *Equites* were such as were of ability to keep a horse, or had the quantity of three hundred measures in dry, and as many in wet: called likewise ἱππάδα καὶ ζευγίτας. *Zeugitæ*, were such as could of wet and dry in all make but three hundred. Any of these three could bear office in the Common wealth. A fourth rank which is called ὄντων, *Thetæ*, a name from servility, which had no power in the rule of the Weal publick. But it had not been amiss if I had shewn how the *Ægyptians* had divided their people into three Classes as the *Athenians* did, as I have spoken above. For the first degree or *Eupatridæ* addicted to learning and study, who were had in greater honor, answer to the *Ægyptians* Priests. Nay those great houses in *Athens* had Priesthood by succession, as *Eumolpidæ*, *Ciryces*, *Cynidæ*. For out of the stock were chosen Priests, hence ἱερωσύνη ἐκ γένους in *Demosthenes*. The *Geomori* who had lands assigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not dislike them in *Ægypt* who hold possessions on these tearms, namely, To provide Souldiers when need shall require to fight. The *Demiurgi* resemble those Plebeians, who skilful in some Art, did set out their labor to daily hire, as *Diodorus Siculus* can testifie.

d Plut. p. 65.

e Plutarch. loco prædicto.

f Plut. Thes. p. 8 l. 18. num. 164.

g Pag. 741.

CAP.

CAP. V.

Tribus quatuor ſub Cecrope, mutata earum nomina. Augentur à Cliſthene: duæ additæ. Φρατρία. Φράτορες. Τετάς. Γένος *Tribulum.* Κοινωνία. φυλετικὸν δεῖπνον, Φρατρικόν.

IN *Athens* there were but four Tribes under the rule of *Cecrops. Cecropis, Autochthon, Actæa, Paralia*; which had other names put to them, *Cranais, Atthis, Meſogæa, Diacrie.* I ſuppoſe from the parts of *Attica*, it lying partly neer the Sea, thence *Actæa*, partly hilly, thence *Diacrie*, partly Mediterrane, thence *Meſogæa*, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour that Tribe ſo much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I know not. It is probable that it was an honor to their Governor, for as *Cecrops* gave the firſt names, *Cranaus* the ſecond, *each aſſuming a title to himſelf. Erictthonius* called them after the name of *Jupiter, Pallas, Neptune, Vulcan.* Διάς, Ἀθωνᾶς, Ποσειδωνιάς, Ἡφαιστιάς. But when *Jon* came to rule, they were named after his four ſons, *Geleontes, Ægicoreis, Argades, Hopletes*, as *a Herodotus* and *b Euripides*. Though *Plutarch* ſaies that they were ſo called, *c* ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων οἷς ἕκαστοι τὸν βίον τὸν πρῶτον, from the courſes of life which they firſt took. But *Cliſthenes*, a man factious and wealthy, is ſaid by the Councel of *d Apollo, Alcmæon* being Archon, to make ten of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from ſome Demigods or *Heroes* born in that land, all except *Ajax* whom though a ſtranger, he put to the reſt as a neighbour and companion, *e Herodotus*. Theſe then were called Ἐπώνυμοι, as you would ſay, giving names; the word ſo ſignifies ſometimes, as *Minerva* is ſaid by *Dion Chryſoſtom*, Ἐπώνυμος Ἀθωνᾶν, who gave the names to *Athens*. To theſe were erected Statues neer the Councel place of the Senate Their names are theſe, as *f Pauſanias* hath them, *Hippothoon, Antiochus, Ajax Telamonius, Leo, Erectheus* that ſlew *Immaradus* the Son of *Eumolpus* in the *Eleuſinian* War, *Ægeus, Oeneus, Acamas, Cecrops, Pandion,*

a In Terp. ſich. p. 147.
b In Ione verſus finem.
c In Solon. p. 65.
d Ariſtides T. 1. p. 336. A. T. 3. p. 352.
e In Terp. ſich. p. 137.
f 13 Art. p. 4. 5.

Pandion. From these Ἱπποδοντὶς, Ἀντιοχὶς, Αἰαντὶς, Λεωνὶς, Οἰνηὶς, Κεκροπὶς, πανδιονὶς. To which they put two more, one called after *Antigonus* the other after *Demetrius* his name in gratitude to them for the favours received; which in process of time they changed into *Attalùs*, and *Ptolemaïs*, as *Stephanus* writes, διὰτὸ ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων εὐεργετηθῆναι βασιλίδων, having been courteously entreated by the * Kings bearing that name. Which being so, let us take heed that *Livy* deceive us not, who at the time, when *Attalus* did succor the *Athenians* against *Philip*, saies, They first thought of adding that Tribe to the ten, in thanksgiving that the *Rhodii* rescued four fighting Ships of the *Athenians* taken by the *Macedonians*, and sent them home, *a Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem vetures tribus addenda.* Thus have we seen that there were twelve Tribes in all. Let us look back to the first institution. I suppose they were first ordained for the better administration of Civil Government. *b Eustathius* writes that they were divided in imitation of the year the four Tribes according to the four Quarters, each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call τριττὺς or φρατρία answerable to the twelve Months, each φρατρία or τριττὺς, into thirty γένη or kinreds, equalizing the daies. For so many only had the year of old. Witness the Riddle of *c Cleobulus* concerning the year.

Εἷς πατὴρ, αὐτῷ δὲ δυώδεκα παῖδες ἔασιν·
παισὶ δὲ τριήκοντα διάνδιχα εἶδος ἔχουσι.

One Father had twelve Sons, and each Son thirty Daughters, and every Daughter black and white, meaning days and nights. Over these were Governors, τυλοβασιλῆς, Kings of the Tribes, who sate upon Controversies between party and party of their own Tribes. Each Tertian also had his overseer called τριττύαρχος the Ruler of the *Tritys* or *Phratria*. The word may seem to signifie a Society, Fellowship, or Company: it skils not whether you derive it from φατεία, *Eustath*, or πατεία, as *Suidas*, or ἑτάρα, as others which is a Well, because they drew water from the same Well. For the place being scanty of Springs where *Athens* was founded, there

* *These are reckoned among the Eponymos in Paus. p.* 5. *who had statues likewise. a* decad. 4. l. 1. p. 6.

b In Il. C. pag. 181.

c Laertius p. 63. l. 1.

there being but one well-spring in *Athens*, they were constrained to use φρέατα πηγαῖα, digged Wells, as *d Plutarch.* φρήτορες are the men of that society, called by *Tully, Curiales*, of the same Ward, speaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his servants should afford what they had, if any *Lacedæmonians* should come into his Farm. In discription of which thing *Plutarch* uses δημότης, which then we are not to interpret *Curialis* (For this is as much as πολίτης and πανδυλίτης) but *popularis*: These at Festival days in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as *a Eustathius* observs and *b Pollux* (where they brought their Children to be engrossed in their Books, as shall be hereafter spoken, with the reasons thereof) φρατρεύζειν, *Phratrizein*, from hence comes, which is τὸ εἰς ἑορτὰς συνίναι, to meet, for so *Eustathius* in another place εἰς ταυτὸ συνίναι. As for the γένη, or kinreds, we must not think that they were of one blood, but of that near conjunction which they had each with other, being admitted into this Society. Γένη μὲν (every γένος or kinred consisting of thirty, whence they were named τριακάδες) ὁ φρατρικὸς, ἐν δὲ τῇ συνόδῳ ὅτου φρατριάρχου δόξαν. Not of affinity so called, but for their Synod which the Grammarians call σύστημα κοινωνικὸν a Communicative familiarity, κοινωνία, being a participating in one thing, or having an equal share in the same Priviledges. Great was their care of each other, great was their mutual love, which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certain Feasts to be provided, wherein they should kindly entertain each other. δεῖπνα φυλετικὰ and ἑορτεία *b Athenæus.* Τῶν δὲ νῦν δείπνων προτιθέασι οἱ νομοθέται τὰ τε φυλετικὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν, ἔτι δὲ τὰ φρατρικὰ καὶ τὰ ἑορτεῖα &c. of Feasts celebrated at this day the Law makers have appointed *Phyletica*, for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or popular. Moreover *Thiasos* for Colledges (as Philosophers for the death of their Grand Masters) and *Phratrica* for the same Ward. Hence ἑορτάζειν τῷ τύχῃ, and ἑορτάζειν τοῖς ἑορτεῖοις. Of which in due time. The reason of this the *Dipnosophist* gives, saying, That Wine hath ἑλκυστικὴν τοῦ φιλεῖν, an attractive and persuading force to procure love and friendship.

d In Solone p. 65. l. 33.

a Illiad. β. pag. 1181. & Il. ι p. 619.

b Lib. 3 c 5.

c Dipnosoph. l. 5. p. 185. d.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

Græcia vicatim habitata. Ὅπως & quid? Athenienſibus proprium habere δήμους. Quæ? Templa & ſacra pagatim.

ALL *Greece* was inhabited κατὰ κώμας, as *Thucydides* ſpeaks, by Villages, before there were any Towns; from whence comes the word Comœdy. *d At verò nondum coactis in urbem Athenienſibus, cum Apollini Nomio, id eſt, Paſtorum vicinorumque præſidi Deo, conſtructis aris in honorem divinæ rei circum Attica vicos, villas, & compita feſtum carmen ſolemniter cantarent: orta eſt Comœdia* ἀπὸ τῶ κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν, *quod eſt, commeſſatum ire cantantes.* The *Athenians* being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they ſung ſacred hymns to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the Preſident to the *Shepheards* and *Neighbours*, about the Villages, Houſes, and croſs ways of *Attica*, Altars being built in honour of the celebrity, ſprung up a Comœdy, ἀπὸ τῶ κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν, from revelling and ſinging. Others will have it derived from an ancient cuſtome they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the ſtreet where the offender lived, and in the Night time to cry aloud, ὦ δεῖνα ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τὰ ἐναντία πράττει, θεῶν ὄντων, καὶ νόμων. *Such a one doth wrong, and commits ſuch and ſuch Outrages, although there be Gods and Laws*, by which theſe abuſes were reformed. But the *Anonymus*, in a Preface to *Ariſtophanes*, ſays, μὴ κώμας καλεῖσθαι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ δήμους, that they were not called κώμαι, or Villages by the *Athenians*, but δήμοι, which they tranſlate *Populus*, better in my mind, *oppida*, or Towns. *Cicero* ad b *Atticum. Venio ad Piræea in quo magis reprehendendus ſum, quod homo Romanus Piræea ſcripſerim non Piræum (ſic enim omnes noſtri locuti ſunt) quàm quod Maddiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præpoſui, ſed ut de loco: & tamen Dionyſius noſter, qui eſt vobiſcum, & Nicias Cous, non rebatur oppidum eſſe Piræa, ſed de eo videro. Noſtrum quidem ſi eſt peccatum, in eo eſt, quod non ut de oppido locutus ſum, ſed ut de loco: ſecutuſque ſum non dico Cæcilium, Mane ut ex portu in Piræum (ma-*

lus

c Lib. 1.

d Donat. in Præf in Ter.

e Thomas Magiſter.

b Lib. 7. Ep. 3.

lus enim auctor Latinitatis eſt) ſedTrentinum cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam ſermonis putabantur à Caio Lælio ſcribi. Heri aſiquot adoleſcentuli coimus in Piræeum, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat captum de Sunio. *Quod ſi δήμους oppida volumus eſſe, tam eſt oppidum* Sunium *quàm* Piræeus. If ſo be we will have δήμους to be Towns, *Sunium* as well as *Piræeum* is a Town. Theſe were formerly Kingdoms, as *c Pauſanias* teſtifies. Πέντε δὲ δήμους, ἃς ἐν τοῖς δήμοις ἐστὶν πολλὰς, ὡς ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασίλευοντο ὑπὸ Κέκροπος. Moreover, I have written, that ſome of the Towns were governed by a King before the raign of *Cecrops*. And no marvel, for ſome of them far ſurpaſſed other Cities, as *Ariſtides* affirmeth. Theſe were moſt peculiar to the *Athenians*, anciently called ναυκραρίαι, as *e Ariſtoph. Schol.* or Ναυκραρεῖα, as *f Pollux*, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But *Cliſthenes* changed them into δήμους as out of *Ariſtotle* the *Schol.* of *Ariſtoph.* The number of them is, *g Euſtathius* out of *Strabo* and *h Caſaubon*, an hundred ſeventy four. Some whereof having the ſame name are diſtinguiſhed according to their ſituations, as ἀνώτερθεν and κατώτερθεν, as we may ſay the upper and lower *Wakefield*, &c. All of them are divided into Greater and Leſſer. The ἐλάττους or leſs are theſe, *Alimuſii*, *Zoſter*, *Proſpaltii*, *Anagyraſii*, *Cephale*, *Praſieis*, *Lampreis*, *Phlyeis*, *Myrrinuſii*, *Athemonenſis*, *Acharna*, *Marathon*, *Brauron*, *Rhamnus*. The reſt were greater. Take them promiſcuous according to their Tribes.

c Attic. p. 30. l. 42.

d In Panath. T. 1. p. 326.

e Nub. pag. 225. c.

f L. 8. p. 430.

g In 11. b. p. 215.

h In Athenæum l. 6. c. 9.

i Pauſan. Att. pag. 30.

ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΣ.

Αἰξωνὶς, Δαιδαλίδαι, Ἐπικίδαι, Ξυπήτη, Πίθος, Συπαλήττιος, Τρικόρυθος, Ἀθμονὶς ἢ Ἀθμονία, Ἀλαὶ, Αἰξωνίδης, Φλυᾶ, *Æxone*, *Dadalidæ*, *Epicidæ*, *Xypete*, *Pithus*, *Sypalettus*, *Trinemei*, *Athmonon* or *Athmonia*, *Ala*, *Æxonides*. *Phlya*.

ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΣ.

Ἀγρυλὴ ἢ Ἀγρύλη, Εὐωνυμία ἢ Εὐώνυμος, Θήμακοι ἢ Θημακός, Καρίδαι, Λαμπτρεὺς χαθύπερθεν, Λαμπτρεὺς ὑπερθεν, ἢ Παιανιεὺς, Παμβωτάδαι, Περγασῆς, Συβρίδαι, Φηγοῦς, Ἀγραυλὴς, *Agraule* or *Agrylé*, *Euonymia* or *Euonymus*, *Themaci* or *Themacus*, *Cephiſi*, The upper *Lampra*, The lower *Lampra*, in which *Sigo-*

nium

vius errs, calling one the maritimate, the other the inferior, which to be one and the same I have shewed above, *Pambotadæ, Pergasæ, Sybridæ. Phegus, Anagyrus.*

Παραλίας.

Ἄγγελη, Κυδαθηναιον, Κύθηρον, Οα ἢ Οἶη, Παιανιὰ κατάντην, Παιανιὰ ὑπήνεμον, Προβάλινθος. Στειριὰ, Φηγαία Μυρρινοῦς. *Angele, Cydathenæum, Cytharum, Oa* or *Oeii*, the upper *Paania*, the under *Paania, Probalinthus, Stiria*, Phegæa, *Myrrhinus.*

Αἰγιλίας.

Ἀλαὶ, Ἀραφηνίδης, Ἀχάρνη, Βατὴ, Γαργηττὸς, Διομεία, Ἐρεχθία, Ἐρικινία, Ἐχελία, Ἰκαρία ἢ Ἰκάριος, Κολυττὸς, Κυδαντίδαι, Πλωθεὶς, Τίθρας, Φηγαία, φιλαίδαι, Χολλίδαι, *Alæ, Araphenides, Araphen, Bate*, Gradettus, *Diomæa, Erectthia, Ericria, Echria, Icaria* or *Icarius, Ionidæ, Colyttus, Cydantidæ*, Plothea, *Tithras.* Phegæa, *Philædæ Chollidæ.*

Ἀκτῆς.

Ἀγνοῦς, Ἐλευσῖνα, Ἑρμὴς ἢ Ἑρμαὶ, Ἡφαιστιάδαι, Ὁρικὸς, Ἰτέα, Κίκυννα, Σφηττὸς, Χολαργὸς, Χόλαργοι, Χολαργία, Κεφαλὴ, Πρόσπαλτα, *Agnus, Erisidæ, Hermus* or *Hermi, Hephæstiadæ, Thoricus, Itea, Cicyana, Sphettus, Cholargus, Cholargi, Cholargia, Cephale, Prospalta.*

Δεξιτῆς.

Αἰθαλίδαι, Αἰθαλία, Ἀτίδνα, Δεκέλη, Ἐκάλη, Εὐωνεῖδαι, Κηφισιὰ, Κρωπία, Λακκόπιον, Οἶον, Κέραμ. Παιονίδαι, Πάλληνις, πομπεῖα, Σκαμβωνίδαι, Σούνιον, Τύβα, Τυάδαι, Φρεάρριοι, Μαραθὼν, Ἀλιμοῦς, *Æthalidæ, Æthalia, Aphidna, Diradæ, Hecale, Syprada, Cetti, Cropia, Leuconium, Oeum, Ceramicum*, Paonidæ, *Pelaces, Potamus, Scambonidæ, Sunium, Hyba, Hybadæ, Phrearri, Marathon, Alimus.*

Ἰουδιτῆς.

Ἀζηνιὰ Ἀμαξαντεία, Ἀναφλυστία, Ἀχερδοῦς, Διακρία, Ἐλαιοῦς Ἐλαιοῦς, Ἐλευσὶς, Ἐρικιδαι, Θυμοιτάδαι, Κηριδαι, Κηφισιὰς, Οἶον Δέκελ. Οἰνόη Ἐλευθ. Στειριακὴ, *Azenia, Amaxantea, Anacæa, Achardus, Decelia, Elæus, Eleusis, Aræada, Thymætadæ, Cariadæ, Corydallus, Oeum Decelicum, Oeum ad Eleutherias, Sphendale.*

Αντιο-

Αντιοχίς.

Αἰγιλία ἢ Αἰγιλιῶ, Ἀλαιμαί, Ἀλαιμαιώ, Ἀμφιτρόπη, Ἀναφλύστιος, Ἀτήνη, Ἀτηνία, Βῆττα, Θόρα, Κρεώα, Λευκόπυγος, Μελαινεὺς ἢ Μελαινία, Πάλλην, Πεντέλη, Σαμαχίδαι, Φάληρον, Ægilia or Ægilus, Alopoce or Alopecæ. Amphitrope, Anaphlystius, Atene or Atenia, Bessa, Thora, Crioa, Leucopyra, Melanteis or Melæna, Pallene, Pentele, Samachidæ, Phalerum.

Αἰαντίς.

Ὀλυμπιάδαι, Τετραπολῖται, Τετραπύργιοι, Ῥαμνῆται, Oenoë at Marathon. Titæidæ, Tricorithus Rhamnus Of this tribe were some towns taken away & put to other, Aphidna, Perside, &c.

Οἰνῆις.

Βάτταρος, Βατταδαί, Ἐπικηφισία, Θρία ἢ Θρῖον, Ἱππομαδαί, Λακία, Λακιάδαι, Λύσια, Μελίτη, Οἰή ἢ Οἴη, Πειθοῖδαι, Πιτθία, Φυλή, Ἀχαρνῆς, Τυρμίδαι. Butea, Butadæ, Epicephisia, Thria or Thrio, Hyppotomadæ, Lacia, Laciadæ, Lusia, Melite, Oë or Oea, Perithædæ, Ptelea, Phyle, Acharna, Tyrmidæ.

Πτολεμαΐς.

Βερενικίδαι, Θυργωνίδαι. Berenicidæ, Thyrgonidæ. Κορδόκη, Corbyle.

Αἰγηΐς.

Ἀπολλωνιῆται, Apollonienses. These are all, which Authors make mention of, according to their Tribes, others there are which I know not how to distribute, none of the ancients either directing or furnishing me. But these are they. Agra, Anchesmus, Amphiale, Archilea, Astypalea, Atalanta, Achardus, Bolbina, Brauron, Brilessus, Enna, Echelidæ, Zoster, Trion, Cala, Cedæ, Cothocidæ, Coele, Cynosarges, Ceramicus without the City, the same with Academia, Lauricus, Lemnus, Limnæ, Marathon, Parnes, Pnyx, Patroclius his ditch or trench, Solinus, Sporgilus, Hymettus, Hyssia, Phaia, Pharmicis, Phrittis, Phlyus, Chiron, Oropus. To which are put the Islands called Pharmacusæ, two in number, and Psyttalia. The Scholiast of Aristophanes speaks as if Io were a Demus; but I say not with him. The greatest use we have of these among Authors, is in their form of Law, manners of conceipt, and the like, that these might be no fraud

a In Ranis p. 235.

or deceit, that none either unjustly be taxed for any thing, or tax another. Hence read we of such punctual clauses in their Writs N. the son of N. dwelling at *Alopeca in Colum, in Melite, in Cœgmin.* of *Cala*, of *Athlito*, of *Cerameis*. In these villages were Temples of the Gods. b *Livie. Templa pagatim sacrata.* And again, *Delubra sibi fuisse, quæ quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis castellis vicisque consecrata, in unam quidem urbem contributi majores sui deserta relinquerent.* So much witnesseth c *Pausanias*, who tells us, that they worshipped some peculiar Deity, and yet nevertheless did τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀγαλμάτων πάμφ. honour *Minerva*. Some of them had peculiar Festivals, as *Brauron* the solemnities of *Brauronia*, to *Diana Diomea*, to *Jupiter Diomæus*, *Chitonia*, &c.

b Dec. 4. l. 5. c. 12. 18.

c In Atticis c. 7. l. 40.

CAP. VIII.

Τυραννὶς. Ὀλιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία. *Athenarum status mutatio.* Ἰσηδὶς Σατύρου Μίγας. Δέξ.

THe ancients had but three sorts of government *Tyrannis, Democratia, Oligarchia*, as d *Æschines*, which *Polybius calls* βασιλείαν, ὀλιγαρχίαν, δημοκρατίαν where although the one names it a *Tyrannis* or Tyranny, the other βασιλεία, the rule of a King, yet must we understand the same. For in old time all Kings were called Tyrants, as *Servius* in *Virgil* hath observed. A word taken up by the *Grecians* about the time of *Archilochus*, which neither *Homer* nor *Hesiod* knew; and therefore are the Poets noted, as Ἀνὴρ τυραννοκτόνος, for calling the Kings, or βασιλεῖς before the Trojan Wars, Tyrants or *Tyrannos*. Βασιλεία or a Kingdome, is where obeysance is free, yielded rather out of a good advice, than for fear or might. Ἀριστοκρατία Aristocratie, when most wise and just men are fitly chosen to sit at the Helm of the Weal-publick. Δημοκρατία a Democratie, when the Lawes and customes of the Country in matters both belonging to Gods and men are truly observed, and that rules the roste, which shall be approved of by the greater part, κρατοῦντος τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δοκούντων

d In Cresiphontem, p. 4.

saies

ſaies *Polybius*; as that may be ſaid at a banquet to pleaſe all, which doth reliſh well with the moſt. But the grave hiſtorian hath obſerved changes in ſuch government, as they uſe to be inclining to the worſt; Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies, as when the people are led away by the perſwaſions of ſome pleaſing a popular man, and are as it were, willingly conſtrained to take the yoke that his uſurping authority ſhall lay on them. A Tyrant indeed is ſaid, *bVi conſecutus*, who gets it by violence, *c Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate uſa eſt.* But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who have perpetuall authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivation of which cauſing murmuring and rebellion, brings forth an *Ariſtocratie*, or government of the beſt men, ſuch as are well brought up & exerciſed in vertue. The end of an *Ariſtocratie* being as *d Ariſtotle* hath it, *Virtue*, which is of no long continuance, doth ſoon degenerate, *εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν πρακτόνως καὶ φύσει*, naturally inclining to an *Oligarchie*, or rule of few. Theſe few being choſen according to their riches. And becauſe that many in a State cannot be wealthy, therefore the number of them cannot be great. Theſe are great Lords, and little Kings, whoſe power ſwaies all, and not the Laws; who unjuſtly favour thoſe that are partially theirs, and oppreſſe them that would defend their liberty againſt them. All things being adminiſtred *f τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστάταις*, by their preſidents. Such dominion is taken away by the people ſet on rage, not bearing *τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀδικίας*, the injuries of their Rulers. Hence comes in a *Democratie*, which *Sophocles* cals *ἐπὶ τοῦ πλήθους κράτος*, the power of a multitude, whoſe end is freedome, when all can equally partake of the ſame priviledges and immunities, who are true Citizens: whence *Terence* ſtiles it *æquam libertatem*, for which the *Greek Orators* have properly uſed the word *πολιτεία*, as *g Ulpian* obſerveth. But the vulgar for the moſt part ſtrangely inſolent, prone to wrong, and ready to treſpaſs againſt the Laws, bring in by a miſerable proceeding, the worſt kind of government an *Ochlocratie*, the Rule of Raſcalitie,

a Ariſtot. l. pol. l. 5. c. 4.
b Probus in Miltiade.
c Probus ib. pag. 17.
d Pol. l. 4. c. 9.
e Pol. l. 4. c. 9.
f Æſchines. in Ctef.
g In Demoſt. pag. 59.

tie. All these in their times did *Athens* feel, for they were governed by Kings four hundred eighty seven years: the last of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight between the *Dorienses* and *Athenians* offered himself willingly to be slain, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo* that the *Dorienses* should be conquerours unlesse the *Athenian* King were killed; he therefore cloathing himself *famulari veste ne posset agnosci*, saies *a Cicero*, with a servants habit lest he should be known, put himself among the enemies, by one of which in a brawl he was murdered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King, *b quod memoriæ nominis ejus tributum est*, which was done in memory to his name. For after that, *Archontes* or *Judges* ruled, in Title ἄρχοντες, *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whose authority was for tearm of life. These continued three hundred and fifteen years. These being ended, it pleased the State to choose a man, whose office should continue but ten years; seaven succeeded each other, and made up the number of seaventy years; who, because they abused their power, were made but for one year, called therefore *c annui Magistratus*, yearly Magistrates. These continued until *Pisistratus* for a feigned fear of the Seditious, begged a guard of the people for his safety; For when the Faction sprung up, of which I have spoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himself with lashes, and the Mules which drew his Cluriot, went into the place of meeting, ἀγορὰν, and beseeching the people to afford him some defence against their violence, who did (but did not) assault him, procured a company of chosen Citizens, who armed with clubs, not weapons, possessed the Castle, and so Tyranny came in, which *Pisistratus* enjoyed *d* thirty years, and deceased, leaving behind him two sons, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Thessalus*. *Hipparchus* was slain by *Aristogiton*, after whose death the *Athenians* lived under a tyranny four years, from which they were delivered by the help of the *Lacedæmonians*, the offspring of *Alcmæon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whensoever they came for counsel he should wish them to free

a Tusc. Q. l. 11.

b Justin. l. 2.

c Justin. l. 2.

d Heraclides in Pol.

e Herodotus l. 5. p. 135.

from the *Athenians* of that servitude. The *Democratie* came eight hundred sixty eight years after *Cecrops*, established by *Solon*, who excluded the fifth rank of plebeity from office or honour by a law, afterwards abrogated by *Aristides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an *Ochlocratie* by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in *Sicily*, the τετρακόσιοι or four hundred took upon them state, deceiving the people, as *Aristotle* and *Thucidides* affirm. For perswading them that they should reconcile *Tissaphernes* and *Alcibiades* unto themselves by that means, and that the Persian Monarch would afford supply for the War, they most willingly condescended to this motion in the one and twentieth year of the *Peloponnesian* War. These Princes were called *a* πεντακισχίλιοι, πεντακισχίλιοι ὄντες, Five thousand, though not exceeding four hundred. The reason is, because they boasted that none should be rewarded, but who bare arms, nor any admitted to publick power but five thousand, such as with person and estate could be beneficial to the Republique. Their authority was granted by an *b* Act of the *people*, to which *Theramenes* was very forward, but after they were inducted, none more ready to drive them out, whereupon they termed him Κόθορνον *Cothurnum*, from a kind of start up which did fit both feet, ᾧ γὰρ ὁ Κόθορνος ἁρμόττει καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ ἀμφοτέραις δυσί. The word may sute with a Jack of both sides. These τετρακόσιοι were constrained for fear of *d Alcibiades* to resign the right unto the people, and to go into willful baniſhment. But when *Lysander* had overcome *Athens* (the *e Lacedæmonians* ever affecting an *Oligarchie*, as the *Athenians a Democratie*) he ordained these thirty to be cheif. *f Polyarches*, *Critias*, *Melobius*, *Hippolochus*, *Euclides*, *Hiero*, *Mneſilochus*, *Chremo*, *Theramenes*, *Areſias*, *Dioeles*, *Rhadius*, *Charicles*, *Anatius*, *Piſo*, *Sophocles*, *Eratoſthenes*, *Charicles*, *Onomocles*, *Theognis*, *Æſchines*, *Theogenes*, *Cleomedes*, *Eraſiſtratus*, *Phido*, *Dracontides*, *Eumathes*, *Ariſtoteles*, *Hippomachus*, *Mneſithides*. These began at first to put to death the worst and most abhorred, saies *g Saluſt*, without trial of law, but afterwards the good and bad alike, *h* some for envy, others

a Plat. in Alcib. p. 148.

b Xen. Ελλ. β. 274. l. 38.

c Xen. p. 275.

d Justin l. 5.

e Ariſt. Pol. l. 5. c. 7.

f Xen. Ελλ. c. p. 270.

g In Catil. Conſp.

h Xen. p. 272.

thers for riches. These to make their party firm, chose about three thousand, to whom alone they permitted to have weapons, disarming all the rest, to the end they might easily command their lives. But by their lawes (for they made some, stiled *ἀνομοθέτας*, which were nullified by a decree,
i Xen p. 273. (as we shall speak hereafter) none was to suffer *ἀτιμίαν*, who was Registred in the List of the three thousand. So cruel were they, that the people fled into *k Phyle* a Castle in the *Athenians* borders, and making a head under the con-
k Dem. p. 467. duct of *Thrasybulus*, at last shook off this yoke, and remained free untill the death of *Alexander*, even fourscore years, whom *Antipater* succeeded; who in Battle at the City *Lamia* gave the *Athenians* an overthrow, and gave them quarters on these tearms, that they should submit to a few *Peers*, whose Revenues amounted to two thousand *Drachmas* at least, the chief of whom was *Demetrius Phalareus*; that they should likewise receive a garrison into *Munychia* for the assuaging of riots and uproars. But four years after, *Antipater* dying, the City fell into the power of *Cassander*, of whom they often strove to acquaint themselves. But in vain. For he brought them to such an exigency, that they were glad to come to composition. And indeed he dealt fairly with them, giving them their City, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, so that they would be confederates to him, that none, whose Revenues come not to ten *mina* or pounds, should undergoe any function in the Common-weale, and he should be their Overseer whom he would be pleased to nominate.
a Vide Laert. in vita, & Strabonem. The man appointed was *Demetrius Phalereus*, *a* who made the City to shine in her full lustre, insomuch that they erected in honour of him three hundred Statutes. He wrot a Treatise of the *Athenian Republique*, which had not time devoured, would have given no small light to my poor endevours. After he in trouble and vexation had spent fourteen years, he was put out by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, surnamed *Poliorcetes*, who restored the ancient Customes to
b Plut. in Demetrio, them again. To him they ascribed such worship, as also to his Father, that they changed the name of their *Iudge* from *Archon*

them into twelve tribes. The Priest of the Gods that saved them, calling the year after his name, and adding two Tribes to the Tenne, whence the Senate consisted of six hundred, but five before, as *Stephanus*. But when *Cassander* had overthrown the Sonne and Father, such was the ingratitude and levitie of the *Athenians*, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach near their City. After this *Lachares* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius*, whom they utterly cast off, assuming again the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying *Antigonus Gonatas* succeeded, who in the nineteenth year of his reign put in presidiary souldiers to the City, which tenne years after hee took out. The *Macedonians* still kept some of the *Athenian* forces in this space. *Demetrius Antigoni Gon. F.* & *Antigonus Doson*, out of whose hands *d Aratus* the *Sicyonian* rescued the City, and made it stand by it self untill *Philip*, the last King of the *Macedonian Monarchy* except one, did somewhat shake it, as you may read in *e Livie*. But he was expelled by the Romans, who took the *Athenians* into league, with a maintaining of their ancient right. So they remained until the Warre between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*. For by fear they were driven to receive *f Archelaum*, *Mithridates* his General, within their walls; against which *Sylla* laid siege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded *ἀνδρὸς φόνος*, a merciless slaughter, saies *Appian*, that the *g* streets did run with blood. But the Lawes were not much altered by this Conquerour; and therefore they lived in a near resemblance of their former state, in favour with the *Roman* Emperours, *Julius Cæsar*, *Adrian*, *Antonius*, *Gallienus*; in whose successors time, *Claudius* the second of that name, the City was ransacked by the *Gothes*, who when they had heaped up innumerable companies of Books to burn, were deterred by this reason, *That the Greeks, spending their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for War*. *Constantine* the *Great*, likewise had this City in high esteem, taking to himself the Title of *Ἔκγονος Ἀθηνῶν*, as *Julian* saies, which in the words of *c Nicephorus Gregoras* is

c Pollux. l. 8.

c In Berenice.

d Plut. in vita

e Decad. p. l. 1.

f Vide Appian. num Alex. in Mithridatico circa p. 122, 133. &c.

g Plut. in vita p. 335.

a Cedrenus Baptist. & Egnatius Ram. Prin. l. 1.

b In Oratione ad Constantin.

c Hist Rom. l. 7. p. 166.

βασιλεὺς Δούκας (that is) the *Grand Duke*, whom simply afterwards they called the *Duke of Athens*, in that Historians time. Emperours have taken them wives, Citizens of this place, and the daughters of their *Dukes* have been desired by that eminent rank. And indeed no marvel; For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciajolus*, is said to have taken the City from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἄρεϊ Ἱσπανῶν who having no issue male of his wife *Eubœa*, but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by another woman, bequeathed by will *Bœotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the * *Venetians*, from whom his Son recovered it again. *Nerius* succeeded him in the *Dukedome*, who thrust out *Chalcocondylas* his Father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we must know that *Mahomet* the sonne of *Amurat* the second, got *Athens*, ‖ whose beauty and building he held in admiration; which when he had made his own, he continued the Title. For another *Nerius*, from those above named dying, leaving one sonne an Infant, his Mother in the childs Title exercised Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* Noble man (sonne to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whose government the City *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by *Chalcocondylas Primus*) who came thither for Merchandize. Him, by discourse and flattery, she enticed into her love, promising that she would take him to her husband, and give up the Princedome of *Athens* to him. But upon condition, that he would divorce his own wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* slew his wife, swelling with ambition, and thirsty of honour. Which being done, he returns to *Athens*, Marries this woman, enjoys the government of the City, who being hated of the *Athenians*, and complained of at the Court, to avoid envy termed himself the *Childs* Tutor. And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the Court, where *Francus Acciajolus* waited, expecting to be promoted to the Dukedome. When the Emperour therefore understood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being enstalled, imprisoned

d Hist. Rom. l. 7. p. 67.
e Nic. Greg. lib. citat.
f Chalcocon. καὶ τίνες ἀπὸ Ναβάρης
* In the time of Pietro Zani come Ambassadors from Athens to do homage to the Venetian Senate. M. Leukenor in the history and lives of the Venetian Princes.
‖ Chalcocon. l. 9. p. 299.

prisoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by means not known to the *a* Author) slew her. This *Franeus* in time was taken away from men by *Zogan* governour of *Peloponnesus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the City to the Prince of *Bœotia*. He was the last Duke.

a Chalcocon. pag. 300.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAP. I.

Duodecim Dii Athenienſium, Idolatria ſeptifariam commiſſa, Dii Adſcriptitii. Διὰ τί γὰρ &c.

a Pag. 48.

b In Tractatu περὶ Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας. p. 669.

c Sch. Eurip. in Alceſt. p. 661. *d* Ζωσαγ. ἰσοτ. in Stel. 1. *e* Pag. 260.

f Pag. 281.

HErodotus in *a Therpſichore* is of opinion, that the Greeks derived their Religion from the *Ægyptians*. But *b Plutarch* doth ſtoutly deny it. And not without good teſtimony may I affirm that it ſeems to be a falſitie. For *Orpheus* is thought to have brought the Myſteries of Piety into *Greece*; who was himſelf a *Thracian*, from whom the word θρησκεία is ſuppoſed to be drawn, which ſignifies devotion. *c* Τῶν ὧν τὸ πρὶν θεὸς ἐκάλεσεν θρήσκειν, ὡς Θρηικίας ἔσης τὰ εὑρέσεως, ſaies *d Nonnus*. They called θρησκεύειν, to worſhip God, &c. Appoſitely to which *e Ariſtophanes* ἐν Βατράχοις.

Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς θ' ὑμῖν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι,

Orpheus ſhewed us Sacrifices, and to abſtain from ſlaughter.

f Euripides diſagreeing in *Rheſo*.

Μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς

Ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς — *Orpheus revealed the hidden myſteries.*

Herodotus names not the Gods, the worſhip of whom the *Greeks* might borrow from the *Ægyptians*; Twelve in number they were, quoth he, but theſe only are reckoned, *Jupiter. Bacchus. Hercules. Apollo. Mars. Pan. Diana. Iſis* or *Ceres*.

Ceres. Sais or *Minerva. Latona.* As I have gathered, which all at once have been made known to the *Greeks*, and that by the *Ægyptians* is too hard a task for mee to prove. The *Athenians* I am sure had twelve Gods in especiall honour, whose pictures they had drawn out in a Gallery in *Ceramicus*; and had an Altar erected, called *g* Βωμὸς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, on which a little before the *Sicilian* War, a man dismembred himself with a stone; which was accounted prodigious. By these twelve would they swear in common discourse. *h* Μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς. The Heathens thinking that they did honour those Gods, by whom they swear; as I have elsewhere spoken. But they were not confined to so small a number as twelve. For how could it be when they ran through the seaven sorts of Idolatry? First worshipping the Sun, and punishing with death the neglect thereof; as you may read in *i Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*. Secondly, Deifying the effect of God, as bread, &c. For *Clement Alexandrinus* interprets Δηὼ, *Ceres*, ἡ σῖτος corn, or food. Thirdly, the poeticall Gods, *Furies and revengers of wickednesse*, as *Alastores*, *Palamnæi*. Fourthly, the Passions, as *Love*, *Pittie*, *Injurie*, likewise and *Impudence*, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at *Athens*. Fifthly, the accidents of growth and nourishment, hence *Axo*, & *Thallo* two deities from, αὐξάνειν, to increase, & θάλλειν to flourish; to which may be put *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos* the three fatal sisters, and Εἱμαρμένη, *Necessitie*, taken sometimes for death it self. Sixthly, the Theogony or pedegree of their gods, able to make up the sum of which *Homer* speaks, Τρὶς χίλιοι, &c. Three thousand. Seaventhly, an ignorance of the Providence and bounty of God toward them, fained *Hercules* the repeller of evil, and *Esculapius* the god of Physick. And if this serve not, I can add an eighth way, namely hospitality and good entertainment of strange gods. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενώτατοι διατελοῦσι, ὅπου καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς θεούς, saies *a Strabo*, as the *Athenians* love forraigners, so forraine gods. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἀεὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, &c *b Aristides*. For they serve not only the most ancient Deities, in a peculiar manner above all their followers, but

g Paus. Attic. p. 3. l. 8.

h Plut. in Nicia. p. 387. l. 26.

i Aristoph. Eq. p. 300. A.

k Vide Bodin. num in Demonologia.

a Pag. 471.

b In Panath. T. 1. p. 188.

c Strab. p. 387.

but have assumed adventitious ones; such as *Orthane*, *Conisalus*, and *Tychon*. So prone were they to conceive Superstition, that when *d Paul* preached *Jesus and the Resurrection of the dead*; they forthwith deemed *Anastasin*, or resurrection, to be a God. And lest they should omit any, they erected Altars to the unknown Gods, of which *e Pausanias*. Neither may we doubt of it, the Scriptures bearing witnesse. The cause of this they say to be a fearfull vision appearing to *Philippides*, sent Ambassador to the *Lacedæmonians* concerning aid against the *Persians*, and complaining that he (*f Pan*, from whom πανικὸν *spectrum*) was neglected, and other Gods worshipped; promising likewise his help, they therefore being victorious, and fearing the like event, built a Temple, and Altar TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Another opinion is, that a Plague being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no help from the Gods they implored, surmising some other power to have sent the Disease, whereupon they set up this Altar, on which was written ΘΕΟΙΣ Ασίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης Θεῷ Ἀγνώστῳ καὶ ξένῳ. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRICA, TO THE UNKNOWN AND STRANGE GOD. As *g Justin Martyr* and *Oecumenius*. Much may be said of their Tutelar Gods, both for their Cities and Houses, much of their *Heroes* or Demigods. We will view them in order.

d Act. Apost. c. 17. v. 18.

e In Attic. p. 1. l. 35.

f Vid. Eurip. Sch in Med. p. 482.

g Pag. 137.

CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασιλεύς, Νίμιος Ιλάτης, πολιεύς, Βουλαῖος, φράτριος, φίλιος, Ομάγυιος, Καταιβάτης, Ερκεῖος, Αγοραῖος, ξένιος, *Modii salis edendi, Tessera hospitalis seu Symbolum, Apollo* Σωτήρ, πατρῷος, Αλεξίκακος, Δωραῖος. *Pæan, & ejusdem verbi origo. Mercurius*, πολιγνώμων. Ενάγιος. Στροφαῖος. φερέκυδης.

ABove other of their Gods *Jupiter* was had in high esteem. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the *Athenians* were bidden to dissolve their Kingdomes, they were charged to make choice of *Jupiter*, *a* πατέρα ἢ Δία Βασιλέα. And so by *b Aristophanes* he is called Ζεὺς Βασιλεύς.

a Sch. Aristoph. p. 122

b In Nubibus.

Him

Him they worshipped as *President of Law and Justice*, under the name of *Jupiter* ὁ *Nomius* (different from that *Corinth* named Νόμιος.) Him as *God of Supplicants*, hence Ἱκέσιος, Him as *Protector of Cities*, hence πολιοῦχος. Him as *Governour and director of their Councels*, hence βουλαῖος. Him as *chief of their Societies*, hence ἑταιρήιος; and of their friendship too, hence φίλιος; and of kindred likewise, hence ὁμογνήτιος. To him they ascribed *Thunder*, hence ὁ Ζεὺς καταβάτης, as much as coming down in Thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged their delivery from the *Persians*, wrought by *Themistocles*, hence [f] Ἑλευθέριος. Him they confessed the *greatest of all*, hence [g] ὕπατος. Him *the overseer of their buying and selling*, hence * Ἀγοραῖος. To him stood an Altar sacred in the *courts of their houses*, hence *Jupiter Herceus*, from Ἕρκος a wall, as if he were the watch and defender of the house. *Phavorinus* Ἕρκειος Διὸς βωμὸς ἔξω που τῆς θύρας τῆς αὐλῆς, αἱ δὲ εἴσω τῆς θύρας ἑστίαι ἦσαν τοῦ Διὸς ἐρκείου τῆς οἰκίας. There was also an Altar to him before the gates, of which [h] *Ovid*— *Ante ades stabat Jovis Hospitis ara*, hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the *God of strangers and hospitality*. So solemn were they in their entertainments, that they would not receive a stranger without great ceremonies, such as giving of the right hand each to other ἐπιμέλειαν δηλωτικὸν, a most certain sign of fidelity and security; as also washing & cleansing with salt, or salt water, as [k] *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*; whence it is called ἁγνίσιμος. Salt they highly esteemed of, ever upbrading violated hospitality with [l] τῶν ἁλῶν, &c. where is the salt? And yet it may be thought to be said of the community of the table [m] ἐδῶν ἢ ἁλῶν τινων μὴ κακουργεῖν τοὺς ὁμοτραπέζους καὶ συνεσίους, customes shewing that fellow commoners, and such as feed of the same table, must not injure one another, to which the old saying may well agree, *n multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiæ munus expletum sit*, Men must eat many bushels of salt together, before they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendship is not to be soon established. But I take salt, for the lustration, to

[f] Dem. in Mid. p. 251.
[g] Vlpian. in Dem. p. 273. Paus. p. 18.
[h] *Ovid.* l. 40 *Who thinks* Sylla *to be eaten with lice by a judgment, that slew* Aristion *suppliantly flying to the Temple of* Minerva.
[i] Aristoph. Avid. p 626. Plut. & Paus. Pausan.
* Aristoph. p. 317.
[k] Metamorph.
[l] Eustath. in. Il. β.
[m] Pag. 17. *But* Eustath. *sayes, that they did set salt before any strangers.*
[n] Demosth. p. 241. Tzetzes in Lycoph. p. 28. Cicide Amicitia. Eustath. *says, that it betokens love permanent For salt preserves, And as it is*

made of many lettings in of water, so they who came from divers places by hospitality are made one. In ιλα p. 100.

to which they alſo added fire, as you may ſee in *o Ariſtophanes*. Neither was this all, for they ſacrificed moreover, calling *Jupiter* to witneſs and uſing theſe words in the time of ſacrifice. *p* Εἰς Διὰ Ξένιον ἁμάρτοιμι, εἰ φειδοίμην ξένου. *Let my treſpaſs be againſt Jupiter Xenius, if I offend, contemn, or neglect ſtrangers.* And for the continuation of this, even to their poſterity they were wont to cut a huckle bone in two, the one party keeping one piece, the other party the other half, that when occaſion or neceſſity ſhould make either of them ſtand in need of other, *q* ἐπιδείξαι τὸ ἥμισυ ἀστραγάλιον, ἀγαπῶντο τῇ ξενίᾳ, *bringing with them their half huckle bone they might renew their hoſpitality.* This they call σύμβολον, *Symbolum*, a token, which ſometimes they would ſend to their acquaintance in others behalf, as *Jaſon* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea* to do Πέμπειν τε ξένοις συμβολ' οἳ δέξονται σ' ἐμοῦ. And to ſend a *Symbolum* or token to ſtrangers that ſhall courteouſly entertain you. But of this enough, as alſo of *Jupiter*, whom celebrated in *a* other Epithets I know by the *Athenians*. *Apollo* was next in requeſt to *Jupiter*, invocated in *danger or ſudden events*, hence *b* Ἀποτρόπαιος, from ἀποτρέπειν, to turn away, as if he ſhould deliver them from eminent evil, for which reaſon he is called *Alexicacus*, c *Apollinem aſpellentem mala intelligas, quem Athenienſes* Ἀλεξίκακον *appellant.* He was one of the firſt Gods they had, hence he is tearmed *d* πατρῷος: but *e* others think becauſe he was the father of *Ion*. *f Macrobius* is of opinion, becauſe the *Sun*, the ſame with *Apollo*, is the Author of progenerating all things, *quòd ſol humoribus exiccatis progenerandis omnibus præbuit cauſam.* To him ſtood Altars in their ſtreets, hence he is ἀγυιεύς, as if he were ſet over their ways, g *Illi enim vias, quæ intra pomeria ſunt* ἀγυιὰς. This Agyeus was a ſharp pillar. *h* κίων ὀξὺς ὑπὸ τῷ ἐξω λίθῳ. Although the *Greeks*, as *Macrobius*, ſays, did worſhip him as θυραῖον, *exitus & introitus potentem*, one that kept the doors of their houſes; yet I find no monument of that Title in *Pauſanias*. Famous he was for the name of *Pæan*, of which, though I have taken occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere, yet this is a moſt proper place. I will not trouble you with the trivial

o In Acharn. pag. 414. vide Sch.
p Euſtath. in Il. λ.
q Eurip. Sch. pag. 446.

a As πολιεύς Ariſtophan. ὄμβριος. Pauſan. &c.
b Ariſtoph. Πλ. l. 86.

c Macrob. Sat. l. p. 253.
d Ariſtoph. Nub. p. 203.
e Ariſt. Sch. p. 611. g.
f Satur. l. p. 257.
g Macrob. Sat. l. c. 9.
h Schol. Eurip. Phæ. p. 322.
i Sat. l. c. 9.

derivations of the *Greeks*, which you read in *k Athenæus*. When the *Athenians* asked help of the Oracle at *Delphos* against the *Amazons*, in the days of *Theseus*; The God bid them implore his succor in these words, Ἰὴ Παιάν. *l Hanc vocem, id est,* Ἰὴ Παιάν, *confirmâsse fertur Oraculum Delphicum Athenienſibus, petentibus opem Dei adverſus Amazonas, Theſeo regnante. Namque inituros bellum juſſit his ipſis verbis ſemetipſum auxiliatorem invocari, hortarique.* I doubt not but the words are changed somewhat, especially if we consider the ancient *Jo Paean. Paean*, sayes the *m Scholiast of Aristophanes* is a song or hymn praying for the ceasing of a Plague, or war, nay, for the preventing of apparent hurt. The original of *Jo* n *Scaliger* hath already found, *Jao* & *Jo* being contracted by the *Greeks* for *Jehova*, *Paean*, then comes from פנה to look so that *Jo Paean* is in force *Jehovah Penoh.* LORD LOOK UPON US, it being a craft of the Devil to come as near as possible he may to God, so to bereave him of his dear honour, if he could. The remnants of these words the *o Symerons* a people of the West Indies use, who in their fighting dance, and leap, and sing Ἰὸ Πεῖο. at this day *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of *p* Παλιγκάπηλος or *q* Ἐμπολαῖος, deemed to be the God, whose favour could enrich Merchants and Tradesmen. He is the God of craft, so by consequence he that is cunning to cheat may soon grow Rich. Wherefore this God is termed Ἐρμῆς Ὠφέλιος, *very profitable*, from ὄφελος, an augmenting word, and ὀφέλλω to profit. He had a Statue erected to him in the Market place, called *a* Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος. The entry of their houses was sacred to him, from which he is named *b* Προθυραῖος, as likewise Στροφαῖος from στρέφειν, to turn, because he was set up behind the door to keep away theeves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villany. More of his names you may read in *c Aristoph. Schol.*

k In fin. lib. 14. Dip.

l Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 17. p. 253.

m In Plut. pag. 68.

n Græc. Trag.

o Vide Sir Fr. Drake.

p Aristoph. in Plut. p. 110. Arch. pag. 410.

q Aristoph. Ranis. p. 266.

a Aristoph. p. 304.

b Paus. p. 20. l. 35.

c Pag. 1001.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte, Hercule: ἄναξτις.

Saturn was worshipped by the *Athenians*, witness the feasts kept in honour to him, called Κρόνια, witness a *Temple* [d] which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquity I cannot much affirm any thing. He seems to have been of old, as I conjecture out of [e] Κρονικαὶ γνῶμαι, *Saturnia animæ*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewise had his honour there, and a Temple, of which [f] *Demosthenes*: where was one of the *Athenian* prisons; some controversies in law in it decided, as I gather out of [g] *Demosthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient Patron of this City, which he loved even to strife. He was feared for security in Navigation, hence [h] Ἀσφάλειος. [i] *Mars* also had his Worship, and Temple, and *Hercules* too; who in a Dream appeared to *Sophocles*, revealing unto him the Sacriledge of one who had stollen a golden Cup out of his Temple: called therefore Μυωτὴς or *Index Herculis*, as [k] *Tully*. Neither were they contented with such a quantity, but canonizing more daily, as the Sons of *Tyndarus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, naming them ἄνακτας. [l] ἀνακὸς γὰρ ἔχειν τὸν ἐπιμελούμενος ἢ φυλάττοντα ὅπως, καὶ τοὺς Σατύρους ἴσως ἄνακτας, διὰ τῦτο καλεῖσθαι. For they who have a care and watch of any thing do diligently observe it, ἀνακὸς ἔχειν. For which Kings perhaps are called ἄνακτες, as keepers of their people. [m] The Scholiast of *Euripides* teaches us that ἄναξ properly signifieth a Saviour. So *Pan* is said to be Ἄναξ Κυλλήνης, *the tutelar God of Cyllene*. And *Apollo* in [n] *Homer* χρύσης ἕνεκ' ἀνάσσεις. The word is simply but for God in [o] *Aristophanes*, [p] τὸν ὦν Διὸς Ἄνακτος καὶ Σωτῆρος καλῶ. To these may be put *Harmonius* and *Aristogiton*. *Lycus*. *Theseus*. *Alon*. *Hesychius*. *Aristomachus* the Physitian. *Celeus* and *Metanira*. And many more (of whom see [q] *Meursius*) made of Men, as *Silanion* and *Perrasius* that made the Statue of [r] *Theseus*.

[d] Paus. p. 16. l. 32.

[e] Aristoph. πλ. pag. 61.

[f] p. 536. n. 26.

[g] παραγγ. πρὸς Ἀπατ.

[h] Aristoph. p. 403.

[i] Paus. p. 47. l. 27.

[k] De divinatione, l. 1.

[l] Plut. Thes. p. 11. l. 25.

[m] In Hippol. p. 500.

[n] Iliad. α.

[o] In Av. d. p. 578.

[p] Eurip. Sch. p. 537.

[q] In Athen. Att. l. 3. c. 1. & 7.

[r] Plut. in Th. p. 2. l. 14.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Minerva, Cerere & Proserpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate, Junone, Prometheo, &c.

Minerva the especial Deity of the *Athenians*, had the Festivals called *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully read in *Meursius*. Next to her, *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, whose rites *longè maximis & occultissimis ceremoniis continentur*, *a* saies *Cicero*, were greatest, and most hidden: therefore called *mysteria* from *b* μυεῖσθαι, to hide; *c* death and a curse lying on him who should disclose those abominable secrets. See *Meursius* in his *d Eleusinia*, of the initiation in these stews. They were of two sorts. *e* Greater to *Ceres*, less to *Proserpina*. *Bacchus* also the son of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted and a double Tide holy to him: *Dionysia* f *parva*, and g *magna*. *Venus* had her honour and sacrifice in which they offered to her *h* mony the price of a whore. *i Eumenides* were first adored by *Orestes* after he escaped the *Judgment* at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemnestra*. These by k *Hesiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the *Athenians* Σεμναὶ θεαὶ, the venerable Goddesses. To these they offered drink offerings, without wine though at midnight: a custome peculiar to them alone, as *m Æschylus* witnesseth, though I am not ignorant that *n Bacchus* his feasts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nyctelius*. But the Tragœdian,

ὁ χ᾽ ευκτίσιμα δῶρα ἐπ᾽ ἰχάδα πυρὸς
Εὖσον ἄφαρ νάπλους κοπλὼ θεᾶν.

Scholiast. ἐπὶ τῶ μυστικῶ μέλιτι ἐσπένδετο ἀφάρχεται. By *p Sophocles* the manner of oblation is set down. First having clean hands and pure, the worshipper ought to draw out of a running fountain, water, and having filled three cups with water and honey (hence termed *q* ηφάλια μειλίγματα) the mouthes and ears of which are to be covered with the wool of a young sheep; turning himself towards the East, he powred out some of two of them, but the third wholy; then with both

f In Panath.

a In Panath.
b Nonnus ad Naz. 5ma.
c Vid. Plut. in Alcib.
d Cap. 7.
e Aristoph. Sch. p. 85.
f Arist. p. 222.
g Id. p. 123.
h Clem. Alex. d. 19.
i Vide Æsch. in Eumen & Sch. Soph. Oed. Col.
k In Theogonia.
l Paus. p. 27. lib 3.
m In Eumen. pag 275.
n Aristoph. p. 228.
o Loco citato.
p In Oedipo. Col. p. 272.
q Æschylus loco citato.

both hands setting thrice nine branches of Olive on the place where he casts his χαὶ the uttered out his conceived supplications. Other sacrifices they had as shall be shortly spoken. *y Hecate* was worshipped by them in *trivia*, where three ways met, supposed to be the Moon in Heaven, *Diana* on the earth, and *Hecate* below. *z* To her the richer sort every new Moon made a feast in the cross waies setting bread and other provision, which the poor greedily fed on, and were so ravenous after, that *t Penia* in *Aristophanes*, complains that they snatcht it, before it could be * laid down. Reference to this hath Ἐσθαῖα κατεῖν to eat the cates of *Hecate*, in *u Demosthenes*, which he seems to object as a forbid or wicked thing. Indeed βωμολόχος, which signifieth one that privily taketh away any of the sacrifices from the Altar imports some time *impious*, Βωμολόχος, ἀσεβὴς. *Schol. x Aristoph.* And yet the same Scholiast tels us that the needy sustained themselves by the sacrifices. *y* ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν δὲ οἱ πένητες ἐζῶσαν *Juno's* rites were performed in great pomp with hair over their shoulders and down the back, in a vesture that swept the ground, their arms bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces so minced, that *a* Ἡρῷον βαδίζειν *Junonium incedere*, is to go stately. *Prometheus* was worshipped in a kind of Torch dance, or running with links or lamps; it may be in memorial of the fire. which superstitiously they believed him to have stole out of heaven. To say more of their Gods were needless either for you to read, or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of latter making, introduced by the *b Phillipides*, and * Σφραγιτίδες Νύμφαι. *Spragitides Nymphæ* after the *Persian* overthrow.

Vide Interp. Hor. in illud. Diva triformis.

z Aristoph. Sch. p. 63.

t Pag. 64.

u In Orat. περὶ τῶν χόων. p. 633. n. 59.

* In Nube. p. 176.

x In Plut. 63.

a Vide Schorum in Prov. Isaac. Casaub in Athen. l. 22. c. 5. p. 388.

b Cl. Alex. pag. 22.

* Plut. Arist. p. 240. l. 30.

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ ἀνθήλιοι Ἑρμαί. *Phacasiani Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their doors erected statues which they called *c* θεοὺς ἀνθηλίους, because they were exposed to the Sun. Neither had they these alone, but certain others sacred

c Vide Hesychium, & Dionysium Petavium in Themistum.

sacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes*, *Herma Mercuriales*. The fashion of them were divers. For first they were not ἀνατεταμένοι, *porrecto veretro*, but made after that form by the *Athenians*, who received it from the *Pelasgi*, as *d Herodotus*. Neither did they want leggs, till the *Athenians* made them ἀκώλους, according to *e Pausanias*. The manner was this, *A face of Mercury set upon a pillar of four Corners*. The head only and neck were shapen, and therefore it was called *truncus Hermes*, *f Juvenal*,

Nil nisi Cecropides, truncóque simillimus Hermæ,
Nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine, quam quod
Illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.

For which reason likewise the *Greeks* name them *g* ἀγύιας, without limbs. On the lover parts of them were certain verses engraven concerning the praises of some well deserving men; but the *Herma* on which they wrote the exploits of those that had merited, seem to mee to have been set up in that Gallery, which from the number of these images was commonly known by Ἑρμοῦ Στοὰ the Gallery of *Mercurials*. At the consecration of these they used some ceremonies, & sacrificed a kind of Gruel, which was of no great preparation; because they would not stand long about it. Hence χύτρας ἱδρύεσθαι may be said to sacrifice with that which costs but little. *h Aristophanes*. Χύτρασιν, ὥσπερ μαζόδρου Ἑρμείου. *Schol.* Ἑρμεῖον, ἀντὶ τῆς ἑρτελές. *in Pace*. Now to the erecting of their Images it will not be unseasonable to add something of the form of their Gods, whom they made standing with their hands upwards, as if they were more willing to receive than bestow any thing. To which *a Aristophanes* alludes saying— ᾗ δῆτα γνώσεσθ' ὑπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα, ὅταν γὰρ εὐχώμεθα δοῦναί τἀγάθὰ, ἔχουσιν ἐκτεινόντα τὼ χεῖρ' ὑπτίας. Οὐχ' ὡς τι δόσοντ' ἀλλ' ὅπως τι λήψεται. *Even the Gods you shall know by their hands and statues. For when we pray them to give us some good thing, they stand with their hands upward, as if they would not send down something, but rather take oblation.* To tell you likewise, that these Idols were cloathed, is no news doubtless to one meanly versed in the Greek anti-

d In Eaterpe p. 48.
e In Atticis, p. 22. l. 14.
f Sat. v. 852.
g Vide Vlpian. in Dem. p. 232. & G. Longbain in Notis ad Longinum. περὶ ὕψους.
h Pag. 693.
a Concican. p. 747.

ties. To ſay that they were Shoes too is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phœaſiani*, from φαιακίζω, a kind of low ſhoes which the *Athenians* called κονίποδας, from κόνις duſt, and πούς the foot, becauſe they were neer the ground διὰ τὸ πιλάζειν μαλ. δοκεῖν τῇ κόνει τὸ πόδε, ſaies *Clemens Alexandrinus*. But more ſure I am that they were pictured with them on their feet. *c Juvenal.*

b Præd. l. 2. c. 11. p. 152.
c Sat. 3. v. 217.

Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polycleſi.
Phœaſianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.

CAP. VI.

De Superſtitione Athenienſium, & vaticiniis.

LOng ſince were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apoſtle for ſuperſtition, which though it properly ſignifies *d* a worſhipping of the Gods too much, yet under it theſe follies are comprehended. Purification after fearful dreams, in *e* Ariſtophanes ὄνειρον ἀποκλύζειν. In which ſenſe ſome underſtand *Perſius*: *Noctem flumine purgat.* Wearing of Rings againſt Witchcraft as a Spell, called *f* δακτυλίους φαρμακίτας. *g* Spitting into their boſoms thrice at the ſight of a mad-man; or one troubled with an *Epilepſie*. Of which alſo *Theocritus*, πτύειν εἰς ἐμὸν κόλπον. I know not whether the cuſtome of our ſilly people have reference to this foppery, who uſe to ſpit at the naming of the Devil. Certain it is, that anciently they did ſpit in defiance, hence πτύειν is put for καταφρονεῖν and εἰς ἄνδρα κομῶντα to contemne or ſet little by, as the *h* Scholiaſt of *Sophocles* on theſe words, πτύεται δυσώδη. Waſhing with water the head as often as he ſhall go into the ſtreets καὶ καπηλεῖα λούσθαι; *Theophraſtus*. Anointing the ſtones, divers it ſeems from thoſe heaps ſacred to *Mercury*, termed Ἑρμαῖα. This hath been of old done indeed as a token of thankfulneſs by *k Jacob* in *Bethel*, where he took the ſtone that he put for his pillow, and ſet it up, and powred oyle in the top of it, in his journey to *Padan Aram*. Hennes crowing, the bold entrance of a black dog into their houſes, Serpents.

d Donat. in Ter. p. 67.
e Rannis pag. 274. vide & Æſch. in Perſis.
f Ariſtoph. Pl. p. 88. f.
g Theoph. Ch. pag. 49.
h Antigonem
i Charact.
k Gen. 28, 18.

pents seen ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, sayes *Theophrastus*, of which *a Terence. Introit in ædes ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit.* Put to these a *b* Cat or Weesel (the word signifieth both) crossing his way, the mouse eating his salt bag. Not unlike them now adayes whose cloaths the Rats or Mice shall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he shall have great ill betide him. Adde the avoiding of obsequies for fear of polluting. Antiquity was of opinion that sacred persons were defiled with the sight of the dead, as *Chemnitius* hath observed, and *c Euripides* brings in *Diana* speaking that it is not lawful for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay, the standing upon a grave was great religion; ἐπιβῆναι μνήματι. Furthermore observing of days good and bad, of which *d Hesiod*, ἄλλη ἀπημοσύνη, ἄλλη δ' αὖτε μήτηρ, that one is a stepdame, another a mother. *e* Amazement at the Eclipse of the Sun, as also the *f* Moon; not knowing the reason, why she did loose her light at that time, when she was in her full lustre. Buying of Medicine or enchanted stones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Aristophanes*. ὠκυτόκια ὠνησάμην. Of the vertue I speak nought. *g Boemus* relates, that in *Darien* in *America* the women eat an herb when they are great with Child which makes them to bring forth without pain. Joyn to this the sneezing over the right shoulder or the right side, ἡ πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν. Observation of διοσημίαις, or sudden storms, as the *i Schol* of *Aristophanes* interprets it, snow, hail, or the like. *k* Cutting off their hair; and sacrificing it to rivers, as *Cephissus*. Marking the flight of the Owle, whence came the Proverb, *l* γλαῦξ ἵπταται, *The Owle hath fled*. And γλαῦξ ἵπτατο for good luck: The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*. *m* ἡ πόλις τὴν γλαυκὸς νίκης σύμβολον πᾶς Ἀθηναίοις ἐνομίζετο. They ever accounting it so, since the War at *Salamis*, where the *Greeks* seeing an Owle, took courage and beat the *Barbarians*. *Appendix Vaticana* ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ πᾶσιν ἐπελθοῦσα θαῤῥήσαντες Ἕλληνες ἐνίκησαν. Other madness of theirs was sleeping in the *n* Temple of *Æsculapius*, who were ill at ease, supposing the deity to give, or shew them a remedy, *o* for which

a In Phor. Ac. 4 Sc. 4.
b γαλῆ. Theoph.
c In Hip. p. 603. vide etiam Eustath. in Il. ω.
d ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἡμ.
e Plut. Pericle pag. 123. l. 35.
f Plin. Nicia. p. 29. l. 21.
g Lib. 4. c. 11.
b Plut. Them. p. 85. l. 23.
i In Ach. p. 379. & p. 424.
k Paus. Att. p. 35. l. 31. vide Eust. in Il. B.
l Arist. Vespis. p. 508.
m Zenobius.
n Aristoph. p. 44. & 6. T. 443.
o Petronius.

which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock, if I miſtake not. What ſhall I ſay of *p* putting him to death who ſhould cut down an Oake or an Holme (ſo *Ilex* which in Greek is πευκὴν may be taken, I think it an Holme) in the *Heroum?* and puniſhing *Atarbes* capitally who being diſtracted had ſlain a ſparrow ſacred to *Æſculapius?* Thus farre have we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophecyings. *Æſchylus* brings *Prometheus* on the ſtage, vaunting how firſt he taught men * Ονειροκριτικὸν, Οἰωνιστικὸν, Ηπατικὸν, Θυτικὸν. All which were practiſed among the *Athenians*, as you may read in *Xenophon.* Ονειροκριτικὸν *the interpretation of dreams*, is a reſolution of thoſe doubts which we conceive of things offered to our fancy in ſleep, as that of *Hecuba*, dreaming that ſhe ſhould bring forth a firebrand; and that of *Atoſſa* before the fall of her ſonne *Xerxes*, whom ſhe ſaw ſtriving to yoke the *Barbarian* and *Greek* Woman, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients termed ἐνύπνιον ἰδεῖν. *Æſchylus*, aſcribing much to the truth of them, ſuppoſing them to be ſent from a Diety— ἢ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἔστιν, *b Homer.* The skill in them is ἐξ ὀνείρων ἃ χρὴ παρεγγυᾶσαι, κληδόνας τε δυσκρίτας γνωρίζειν to tell truly the event. Which was no ſmall art: certain Books are written of that Subject. *d* ἢ εἰσὶν ἔγγεγραπταί τινες τέχναι ὀνειροκριτικαὶ, as *Antemidorus* his *Onirocritica*, Οἰωνιστικὸν, *Southſaying by Birds*, when ſuch or ſuch flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand to ſhew what it doth prognoſticate. *e Æſchylus.* Ταμίαν τ' ὀρνίθων τῶν τε πᾶσιν οἰωνῶν σκιερῶς διαίειν· οἵτινες δεξιοὶ φύσιν, Εὐώνυμοί τε καὶ δίαιταν ἰῶσιν ἔχειν· ἔστι, καὶ ὡς ἀλλήλοις τίνες ἔχθραι τε καὶ φιλότητα καὶ συνέδρια. It was formerly ſtiled *f* οἰονοσκοπικὴ, ἅτε ἐκ διανοίας πτερυγμῶν ἀνθρωπίνη τινὶ σημείων, which the mind doth ſuggeſt to the opinion. It is put for any divination in Greek Writers, but moſt properly ὀρνιθοσκοπικὸν, which *g Telegonus* is related to have found according to *Nonnus*; but according to *h Plinie*, *Car*, whence it is called *Caria.* Ηπατικὸν, looking into the liver or entrals, like the Latines *extiſpicium*, obſerving the colour of them, χρῶτα τε ποικίλων ἐυμορφίαν; as likewiſe the ſoundneſs, hence taken as a prodi-

* Vide Sch. p. 32.

p Ælian. ποικ. l. 5. c. 17.

a Απομνη. *a.* initio.

b Iliad. 1.

c Æſchy. P. 10. pag. 33.

d Euſt. in Il. *a.* pag. 36.

e Pag. 33.

f Ariſtides T. 3. pag. 25.

g Nonnus Ἐμοαγ. l. 5. *a* 6.

h Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

i Æſch. ſloco citato;

& prodigie λοβὸν ἧπαρ πεπλῆσθαι, in & *Plutarch*, the extremity of the liver (like the outmost parts of the Vine leafe, saies *Isidore*) not to be seen, or rather that which they call the head, *Ovid. Cæsumque caput reperitur in extis.* Θυοσκόον, in marking the flame of the Sacrifice burnt, *l* πλοκαμώδη σήματα, the Tragœdian calls them, by which they could foretel events. More doubtless had they waies of Witchcraft, as the other Greeks. Ἐνόδιον, as when one shall meet you carrying such or such things, then this shall befall you, *Æschylus* tearms them ἐνοδίους συμβόλους, *Sch.* τοῦ ἐξ ὑποτύπων. See *Scaliger* in *Tibullum* on these words, *Puer è trivio.* The Scholiast of *a Aristophanes* on ξύμβολον ὄρνιν, they made, quoth he, whom they met first, as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the Salutation which *b Sophocles* calls εὐτύμως σῖμα τεχοῦσά σ', wishing luck as χαῖρε among the Greeks, and the Latines, *c Esto bonis avibus visus, &c.* Σύμβολον is put likewise for sneezing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans; but sacred to *d Ceres*, as the Grecks, whence proceeded that Ζῆνα, which we intimate in our *God help you*, as often as we see any man purging his head. Which not to have proceeded from any deadly Disease, is sufficiently evinced by *Casaubon* on *Athenæus*. Οἰκοσκοπικόν, at the sight of a Mouse, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the House, or when the oyl Cruse is dry, Hony, Wine, Water is spent, to gues at future things. Of this *Xenocrates* wrote. Χειροσκοπικόν, Palmistry, when by the length of the hand, or lines of the Table, they can judge of freeness in house-keeping, of Marriage and Posterity, of which *f Helenus* once left a Monument. Παλμιστικόν, gathered out of the shaking of the parts of the body, as the shoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kind *Posidonius* was an Author exposed to the world. Ἐγγαστρίμυθος as that wherein the Witch of *Endor* was experienced, out of the lowest parts of whose belly the Devil spake. The first that practised this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*, hence they who are possessed with this Spirit of Prophecying are called Εὐρυκλεῖς, *Euryclitæ*, as the *g Schol.* of *Aristoph.* Who calls this Art *h* Εὐρυκλέους μαντεία, *the Divining of Eurycles.* Νεκυομαντεία.

k Pag. 357. l. 31.

l Æsch. loco citato.

a In Av. p. 574.

b In Oed. Tyr. initio.

c Ovid. Fast.

d Sch. Arist. loco citatio.

e Nonnus in Naz.

f Nonnus.

g In Vesp. pag. 502.

h Ib. p. 503.

where

where after ſolemn Sacrifices they were wont to call up the ſouls of the deceaſed, demanding of them what afterward ſhould befall. As i *Wierus*, and no wonder, for they held the Spirits of their Parents and Kindred for Gods, *quibus ſacrificabant* (ſaies *Bodin*) *& ad quorum ſepulchra comedebant, in quos Scriptura invehens ac deteſtans, inquit, & comederunt ſacrificia mortuorum*, to which they ſacrificed, and at whoſe ſepulchers they fed, againſt whom the Scripture inveighing and deteſting, ſpeaketh, *And they eat the oblations of the dead.* Of this l *Ariſtophanes* makes mention, and m *Homer* in his *Odyſſes.* This is that which moſt properly is called γοητεία from γόος lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *diræ execrationes*, a for with great mourning they invocated κακοποιοὺς δαίμονας, wicked Gods for the accompliſhment of their diveliſh deſignes. It may moſt fitly have the name of *Nigra Magia*, b for ſo the Wizards divide them into the black and white Magick. Μαγεία, from whence the word Magick is derived, ſeems to have been found by the *Medes* and *Perſians*, whoſe Prieſts were called *Magi*, great Philoſophers, as d *Laertius* is witneſs. This is ſuppoſed to be the good Magick. e Ἐπίκλησις ὅτι δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν, φησὶ ἀγαθῆ τινὶ σύσσιτον φαρμακεία, is a giving of a *Philtrum*, a Medicine for the procurement of Love or rather enraging of Luſt, by bewitching ſomething and giving it to be eaten, which to have power over Swine is credibly reported. Κοσκινομαντεία, Tricks with a pair of Shears and Sive, of which *Theocritus.* f Ἀξινομαντεία, To take councel of an Hatchet, taking and laying it on a piece of Timber flat-waies, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty uſe of a key and Bible. Ἀστραγαλομαντεία, by caſting of the Dice to ask the number of Wives, Children, Farmes &c. Which anſwer to the quantity of the chance. Ἀλευρομαντεία & Ἀλφιτομαντεία, done by Corn, h Ἀσπαλομαντεία, by taking the Letters of the name, as when two were to fight, and by value of them to judge the conqueſt, As they ſaid of *Hectors* being overcome by *Achilles.* Ὀνειρομαντεία making a circle, they divided it into four and twenty parts, and on each part made a letter, and putting wheat upon the letters

i De Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 11.
k Dæmonomaniæ. l. 2. c. 3.
l In Avid. p. 613. 2.
m Lib. λ.
a Nonn. in Naz.
b Vid. Bopin.
c Vide Non.
d In Procem.
e Nonnus.
f Vid. Odyſ.
g Vide Theocrit. in Phar.
h Delrio Diſqui. Mag. l. 4. c. q. 5. 5 ſec 7.

letters they brought in a Cock; and observing from what letters he took up the grain, they at last joyned them together, and so knew their successors, husbands, &c Σημειωτικὴ, opening a book of *Homer* and by the first verse that they lighted upon to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who so foretold it, meeting with that verse of *Homer*, which speaks of the arrival of *Achilles* within three daies at *Thessaly*. i *Et quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c.* And because poems were accounted Prophecies, as Poets Prophets, they were most busie in them. Hence in publick causes had the Romans recourse to the *Sibylline Oracles*, and the private Grecians to the verses of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for writing of Oracles; is manifest out of the words *Sortes Delphicæ*, for foretelling or divination. a I know the She Priest of *Apollo* being inspired with a kind of holy fury spake to those who asked counsel. Whence the word μάντις at this time read for Southsaying, was anciently called μανικὴ madness. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of Lottery, is as cleer as day, the c *Scholiast* of *Euripides* testifying; done it seems in matters of question, so κλῆσιν λαχεῖν may intimate as much as to undergo trial. Predictions there were, d saith *Eustath.* Out of signes and wonders, as also of the noise that leaves make when they are burned. To which some adde ἀεροσκοπία or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Aristophanes in Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

i Wier. de Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 13.

a Vide Sch. Arist. in Plut.

b Aristid. T. 3. pag. 25.

c In Hippol. pag. 580.

d In Il. 2. pag. 36.

CAP. VII.

De Templis Asylis.

THeir Churches were of two sorts, sacred to their Gods in Greek, νεὼς, or ἱερὰ And sacred to their Demi-gods most propnrly σηκοὶ. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragœdians *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the first Original of their Temples was the erecting of an Edifice to the honour of the deceased. e οἱον [illegible] ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι

e Vid. p. 2.

τάφους ἢ λουτρὰ ἐκεῖ. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπιμελείας. Cecrops buried in the *Acropolis*, *Erichthonius* in the Temple of *Minerva*, *Polias*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Eleusis*, &c. They were divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane, this called ἔξω περίβαλλε, the other ἔσω. *f* *Casaubon* tels us that ἐπίβαλλε τὸ ὕδωρ was that holy water set at the door of the Temple, with which every one that entered into the Temple besprinkled himself, or was besprinkled by those that sacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others have written that it stood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not lawful for any but the Priests to come. The *g* Sch. of *Sophocles* thus describes the Church. Ναὸς, quoth he, is the place where the Altar stands. Βωμὸς, the Altar on which they offered their oblations. Ἕδος, where they placed the Idol which they worshipped in ancient time a rude Table or Stock, *a* *what it Clemens Alexandrinus* cals it, as that of *Juno Samia*, afterward made in the magistracie of *Procles* to be a statue. At first named, *b* ξόανα, διὰ τὸ ἐξέσθαι ἐκ ὕλης, from the shaving of it; but when are began to be so expert as to make it resemble a man, they termed it βρέτας, from βροτὸς *mortalis*, whose shape it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these Ceremonies: That a woman neatly trimmed and deckt in purple vesture, should bring on her head a pot of sodden pulse, as beans, pease and the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulness for their first food; εὐχαριστήρια τῆς πρώτης τροφῆς. For as much as I conceive out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where this was consecrated, or did divine honours, but in the ἱερὸν or ναὸς, the body of the Church, framing as may be gathered, their gesture towards it *d* Αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ διεστραμμένα, ἀγάλματα, ξόανα, ἕδη θεῶν, &c. Furthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greek Ἀρχεῖον by some translated *summum templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This seems to have been the Treasurie both for the Church, and any soever who fearing the security of his wealth, would commit it to the custody of the Priest, as *e* *Xenophon* is reported to have done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephesus*, *Martin* points at this when he saies,

f In Theodh. Charact.

g In Oed. Tyraunum.

a Protreptico pag. 23.

b Idem.

c Schol. Arist. p. 115.

d Lib. 1. c. 1. γμ. γ.

e Laertius in vita p. 122. vide ad eum locum Cas.

Templa

Templa vel arcano demens spoliaverat auro.

So reverently did they esteem of these houses of their Gods, that to do those offices of Nature, I mean venting of Excrements too shamelessly seen among us, in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination, punished severely by *Pisistratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Attick* Ground had brought forth, they so hated him for that Taxation, as that they made the κατόργυια of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although forbidden never was redressed. And yet so secretly was it done, that he could apprehend none, save at last one Stranger, whom he caused to be whipt, with this Proclamation, THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence to a man that soundly smarted for his wickedness, they were wont proverbially to say, *He had better have eased himself in the Pytheum* or if there were more in the plural number. Κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ Πυθία κατακενῶσαι. Nay so honourable held they these Churches, that to them they granted priviledge of *Sanctuary*, to which who would flie, might not from thence be drawn out under a Trespass upon Religion. Of this kind was the Temple of *Minerva* and *Theseus*, the Alters of the *Eumenides* and *Mercy*, *a* whose Image they would not have erected any where in their City, although in the midst thereof she had a Grove. *b* The first *Asylum* among the Heathens is held to have been in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclidæ*.

a Vid Rosinus.
b Polyd. Virg. in Eurip. *they are persecuted sitting neer the Altar.* T. 2. p. 472.

CAP. VIII.

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy Orders among them I conceive to have been divers sorts. Παράσιτοι, *Parasiti*, a word had in latter times in great dirision, exagitated almost in every Comœdy, *c* put for a shark or smell-feast, *c Edax Parasitus*. But held once in good esteem. For when they had set apart such a parcel of

c Terent.

land as they thought the revenues thereof would ſuffice for the Sacrifices of ſuch and ſuch Gods, they choſe certain men who ſhould receive or gather the Harveſt. *Crates*, οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ πίτυι ἐκλογεῖς αἱρέμενοι. With the incomes of this were the charges of thoſe publick Sacrifices defrayed. Hence μεγάλα *introitus magni*, great yearly Subſtance, is uſed for great Sacrifice in *e Ariſtophanes* Scholiaſt. ὅτι δὲ ἔλεγον τοὺς μεγαλομέρους τοὺς θεοὺς θυσίας Κήρυκας. *Ceryces*, the ſame ſignifies a Crier, but in ſacred Functions a Miniſter, who ſlew and offered the *Victim*. f *Anthonio* the Comœdian aſcribes much honor to them, as if they had firſt taught men to ſeeth victuals, the fleſh of ſheep and Oxen, while before they devoured each other raw. They take their name from *g Ceryx* the ſon of *Mercury* and *Pandorus*. But *h Caſaubon*, ἀπὸ τῶν κρεῶν τῶν, *à præſtantiore parte muneris quod obibant, ſic dicti: Idem namque & hoſtias mactabant, adolebantque, &c.* They in the time of Divine Rites, craved the ſilence of the people in theſe words, Εὐφημεῖτε. Σίγα πᾶς ἔχω λαός. Be whiſt all ye people. Good words, for ſoi εὐφημεῖν ſignifies, as well as to ſay nought, which *Horace* fitly interprets, when he ſayes, *Male ominatis Parcite verbis*. When ſacrifice was ended, they diſmiſſed the Congregation with theſe words, λαῶν ἄφεσις. To which Cuſtom he unfitly looked who derived the Maſs from *Miſſa eſt, ite*, better fetcht in my mind by *a Weeheliu* from *Maſath* the Hebrew, which avails as much as to praiſe. Μυσταγωγοὶ, the ſame with *b* Ἱεροφάντῃ, who initiated them who deſired to be admitted into the ſociety of the ſuperſtitiouſly zealous (who after they were entred, were not under a yeare compleat, permitted to ſee their Bible) *c Schol. Naz.* Ἱεροφάντῃ παρὰ τὸ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκφαίνειν. *Hierophantæ* ſo called from ἐκφαίνειν τὰ ἱερά, Opening the holy things. Εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἱερουργοί. *d* The Learned Biſhop, upon the place of *Nazianzen*, notes that *Moſes* among the *Iſraelites* was an *Hierophanta*, ſhewing unto them what they were to do in thoſe ſacred buſineſſes. Πυρφόροι, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whoſe office made them ſafe in war and danger. Hence of bloody fight we ſay ἐδὲ πυρφόρῳ, *Ne ignifer quidem*, there eſcaped not he that ſerved at the Altar.

d Secund. Att. Dialect. apud. Athen. p. 235.

e Avid. p. 581.

f Apud Ath. l. 14. p. 661.

g Vide Salm. in Inſcripti. Polluc. l. 8.

h In Athen. l. 15. c. 23.

i Cauſaub. in Theophraſt. p. 321.

a In lib. quem ſcripſit de Sacrament.

b Meurſius Eleucin. c. 13.

c Stel. 1. p. 63.

d L. Mountac. of Chicheſter.

Altar. Ἱερομνήμονες, The Priests in the *Great Mysteries*, ten in number. Νεωκόροι whom *e Nicander* calls ζάκορους from *f* νοεῖν τὸ καλλωπίζειν, to be decent, because they keep the Temples clean, and swept them as *Ion* in *g Euripides* speaks. These were the ναοφύλακες, whose charge it was to preserve that which was found in the Church, and to see that repaired which went to ruine, saies *h Aristotle*. And yet we read that the *Parasiti* did sometimes look to the mending of it. There being a law enacted that what they laid out should be restored again. Ἱερεῖς in *i Aristophanes* likewise termed σεσιπλοι. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, *k* whose prayers the ancient required at their sacrifices; out of which they had a fee, *l* the trotters and skins, as the *m Ceryces* the tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, for there being tables in their Temples, as *Casaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (and perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomack did share. Well known to *n Aristoph.* Who relates the like of the Priest of *Æsculapius*. It was requisite to this function that they who undertook it should be found both wind and limb, they being asked εἰ ἀσθμῆς before their creation, whether they were whole in every member: which Ceremony to have been used among holy Orders of later daies is well known, their neighbours wives bearing record, sayes a *Christianus* that they have not taken into their societies *quid mutilum*. There were moreover the Priests as the Βασίλισσα, in *Demosthenes*, and the Καναφόροι whom in all things *b Dionysius Halicarnasseus* compared to the vestal Nunnes.

e In Alcæph. p. 144.
f Aristoph. Sc. p. 125.
g T. 2. p. 621.
h In Policie.
i In Plut. p. 71.
k Casaub. in Theoph.
l Arist. p. 481.
m Arist. p. 101.
n In Plut. p. 71.
a In Aristoph.
b Antiq. l. 2. n. 3.

CAP. IX

De Sacrificiis.

THE Father of Philosophy is of Opinion, that Sacrifices first began after the *Ancient* had ended their *harvest*. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth and jollity. In which they offered their first fruits called ἀπαρχαί, from

from whence ἀπὸ τύχης is read generally to do any Sacrifice. Neither doth ἀπροβούλευτα import leſs. For *c* σῖτος ſignifies the bend, or great cheſt of the garner, wherein they laid up the harveſt threſht and winnowed; ἄρχεσθαι, the firſt or beginning, as if when they began to treaſure up their ſtore, they firſt of all liberally paid ſome devotion to their Gods. The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing elſe but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offerings; who willed in his laws, that they ſhould be ἐκλεκτὰ ἱερεῖα, choſen and ſelected ſacrifices. The rights performed in them were not different from thoſe in the daies of *Homer*, but ſomewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand theſe holy things to purifie themſelves ſome certain dayes before, *e* ὡρισμένων ἡμερῶν ἀριθμόν, the number of them is not ſet down. I take ἀπεχέσθαι here to abſtain from carnal delights. (*Tibull. Diſcedite ab aris, Quos tulit heſterna gaudia nocte Venus*) To which purpoſe *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman, from the company of a man to go to ſacrifice, anſwered, from her own at any time, but a ſtranger never. Being thus prepared, they came and ſtood round the Altar, having with them a basket, in which was the knife hid (covered with flower and ſalt in *f Ariſtophanes* ὀλαὶ, in *g Homer* ὁλοχύτῳ) with which they cut the throat of the *victime*. Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it. *h Ariſtophanes*. Περίδου τ' βωμὸν τὰχέως ὀπὶ δεξιᾶ. This luſtration was made with meal, and holy water ſprinkled thereon. This water is called *i* χέρνιψ, in which they quenched a fire brand taken from the Altar, with which they bedewed the ſtanders by, accounting it a kind of cleanſing. (Hence *a* χέρνιβας νίμειν was forbidden him whom they took for a polluted and forlorn rogue) then they caſt ſome of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cry out *b* Τίς τῆλε; *Who is here?* to which they made reply, πολλοὶ καλοὶ, Many and good. Then they prayed. *c Homer*, Εὔξαντ' ἐσθλὰ ἑῷ θυμῷ ἔπε βωμόν. Χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα, καὶ ὁλοχύτας ἀνέσαντο, Τοῖσιν δ' Χρύσης μεγάλ' ἤρατο χεῖρας ἀνασχών. Among the later they ſpake with a lowd voice εὐφημεῖτε, before they began, *Let us pray.*

c Vide Schol. Eur. in Phæn. p. 221.

d Plut. p. 65. l. 26. *they called their lean ſacrifices* κέρατα καὶ γύρειον, *horns and hair, as if naught elſe*, Ariſt. p. 584. *e* Demoſt. pag 400. 476.

f In Pace. p. 695. *g* Il. α. *with theſe* ὁλοχύτας *the Greeks ever began ſacrifice, the Romans*, Far, Dionyſ. Halic. l. 2. n. 4. *h* Loco laud. *i* Athen. l. 9. p. 409. *a* Sophocles Oed. Tyr. *b* Ariſtoph. *c* Ιλιαδ. α.

way. Supplications ended, they drew the victime so as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might look upwards, which *d Homer* αὐ ἀγύιαι. *Eust.* ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄνω θεῶν, ἀνακλᾶν τὴν ἱερεῖα τράχηλον ὡς εἰς ὑψος· ἐπὶ δὲ ἡρώων κατὰ βάθος εἰς ὑπόγειον. If it were to the *Heroes* or Demi-gods, with his throat downwards. Then they slew him and skinned him, and cutting out the * huck shin bones and haunch, they covered them with fat, which is called κνίσσα (hence the gods of the heathen are deciphred by *e Nazianzen*, κνίσσης χαλεπότης, rejoycing in the fat,) to the end that they might burn all out in a great flame. *f* ἵνα ὁλοκαυτωθῶσι πρὸ μηρὸς λαμπρῶς καταπλεχθέντας πυρί. For the Grecians counted it unluckie if it did not consume, & thought that it was not καλλίσφυρα: upon the μηροὶ they cast small pieces of flesh cut from every part of the beast, beginning with the shoulder (which is in Greek ὦμος) hence this is called ὠμοθετεῖν. The reason *Eustathius* gives *g* ὡς δοκεῖν πρὸ πολλῶν, ὅλα ὦσι τὰ μέρη τῆς ἱερείας κατανωθῆ that they might seem to consume all, which the *Athenians* did not, being commanded by law to carry some of the sacrifice home. By reason of which injunction, they did so strain courtesie of their Gods, that the illiberal and nigardly sort of People would sel that which was left, and so make gain of their devotion. *h* τῶν μὲν ἱερείων πλὴν κρεῶν ἱερέων τι κρέας ἀποδίδοσθαι sayes *Theophrast.* Where *i Casaubon* notes, *Coxam fere offerebant, aut intestina, aut aliud non magnæ rei persæpe.* They offered the haunch bone, or the entrals, or somewhat of no great worth, where by entrals you are to understand the spleen, the liver, & the heart, which *Homer* calls σπλάγχνα, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it signifies the heart too, in which sence we say ἄσπλαγχνος ἀνὴρ, a pusillanimous man, and ἔυσπλαγχνος a couragious as the *a* Schol. of *Sophocles* teaches us, and so σπλάγχνα ἐλέους the bowels of compassion. These the ancients did divide among them at sacrifice to feed on, and afterwards cut out the rest to rost. For when they had finished their devotions, they let the reins loos to all manner of voluptuousnes, gluttony and drunkenes. For oft times they left nothing after their sacrifice, especially when they offered

d Iliad. α.

* Μηρία.

e In Stel.

f Eustath. p. 101. l. 1.

g Loco laud.

h Th. Charac. περὶ ἀγελαδ. δειλίας.

i Pag. 436.

a In Ajacem. Lorarium.

red to *Vesta*, whence the proverb Εστίᾳ θύειν, it is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari sacrificare*. To say that publickly they began to *Vesta* were more than I could well prove, but that they did so is plain. In their houses they had Altars, and so I supposed once Ἀπ' Ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι to be taken; but this was done in *Libaminibus*, in their drink offerings, as he on *b* *Aristophanes*. As for their meat offerings it was required that they should be *c* sound and without blemish, whether it were an oxe, sheep, goat, swine, calf: to sacrifice they simply termed ἱερεύειν which out Latines have interpreted fitly, *Facere*, *d* Virgil, *cum faciam vitula*. Whose poverty was so great that he could not afford a sheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleased if he offered *Molas*; which the Greeks call *e* θυλήματα *meal*, which by the richer was mingled with oil and wine as the *f* Scholiast of *Aristoph.* The more wealthy instead of this did cast frankincense on the Altars. For the sacrifices of *Pallas* the tithes were set a part, *g* *Demosthenes*. in their oblations the μάγειροι or cooks give the *h* 10. part to the *Prytanes*. So ἀπογεύεσθαι κωλίας, put for ἱερεῖα where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Schol. *Aristoph.* on ἀπογευσώμεθα τῶν θεῶν ἱερεῖα ἔχοντα κωλίας. Ἐθος ἦν ἔχειν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν θυομένων τοῖς Πρυτάνεσιν οἱ μάγειροι δέκατα, ὅτε ἦν οἱ αὐτῶν ἀπογεύσασθαι ἔχοντα ἱερεῖα, &c.

b Vid. p. 582.

c vide Pollucem. l. 1.

d In Bucolicis.

e Casaub. in Theop p. 237.

f Pag. 701.

g Pag. 378.

h Schol. Arist. p. 304.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

THe ancient Greek year consisted of three hundred and sixtie daies, each month consisting of thirty. Rude Antiquitie ignorant of celestiall contemplations, deeming the Moon to finish her course in that space: Which according to *a* *Petavius* seems false. *Lunaris enim non fuit, sed ejus menses tricenis diebus constabant singuli.* By which reckoning had they not used intercalations, they had soon found a main difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their festivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*; in which when

a De Doct. Temp. l. 1. cap. 1.

when they found 7 daies deficient, they ſupplyed them by adding * two to every end of the year, called ἀπαρχαὶ ἡμέραι, *hoc quod per illud biduum Athenæ Magiſtratibus carebant*, Becauſe for thoſe two daies *Athens* was without Magiſtrates. But the laſt of theſe four had but 359 daies, beſides the two ἐμβόλιμοι, in reſpect of the Olympick Games, ever kept in the * full Moon, which could not have happenned, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moon. Nevertheleſs the Sun and Moon appearing 14, dayes odds in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eighth year an interjection of one Month, that this time being ended, the courſe might ſtill return the ſame. This all *Greece* obſerved ſayes *Petavius*, by the *Athenians* termed μυσὼν, by the people of *Eis* an *Olympiad*. What kind of Lunary year was in uſe among the Grandſires of *Greece*, is not truly known, by *Petitus* delivered to be of D. 347. every Month 29 D. except one, which like our February had but 28 D. Every two years one Month was inſerted: one of 29 D. another time of 28 D. But becauſe in two years this * *magnus annus* ſur paſſed the Moon 15 D. *itaque Tetraeteridæ ſecerunt*. This conſiſted of 1445 D 723 & 722 make 1445 ſo many days 354 four times doubled hath, if you pleaſe to adjoyn 29. Of this ſort of calculation doth he underſtand f *Geminus* Τὰς μιᾶς τεσσαρακονθημέρους ἔλεγον, τοῦ δὲ ἐμβολίμου παρῃνοῦντο. *That muſt be fitly underſtood*, quoth he, *for they did number the months as if they were* 30 D. *when notwithſtanding they had but* 29. g *Petavius* is otherwiſe conceited, who takes the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* in that ſence, as meaning 29 D. full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to h *Geminus* you may account 29 ½. and i *Ulpian*, ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. 29 ½. And yet are we not deſtitute of authority, that a Month was ſupputed 29. D. k *Theon*. Μῆνα δὲ λέγουσι, τὸν ἀπὸ σελήνης εἰς ἥλιον χρόνον ὁπὸ σελήνης, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἡμέραι κθ'. But that the fragments were left out, the words are plain, ἐστὶ δὲ ἧττον τριάκοντα ἡμέραι ἀκόσι, ἢ ὀλίγῳ ἢ συνεχὴς καὶ ἡμέρας χρόνον τοῦτο δὲ τῇ μιᾷ ἐλαττῶν φησὶ ἢ ἧττον πολιτικῶν ἡμερῶν διαγωγὴν καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρῶνται πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. *He means a*

* Negar Petitus Miſcel. l. 8. p. 192. Petav. affirm.

b M. Selder. in Apparat. ad Græco Epoch. Chro.

* Id eſt, *The fifteenth day*

T. 1. p. 4.

c De D Tem.

d Elog. Chr. p. 225. Petav. *goes not ſo lome.*

Lib. de doct. Temp. 1. c. 6.

* *each of theſe two years ſeverally taken was called* vertens, *joyned* annus magnus.

e Loco laud.

f Elem. Aſtro. c. 8. p. 36.

g In Auctario.

h Loco citato.

i In Arg. Orat. contra Aud. p. 380.

k In Arati Diſcurſ. p. 74.

day the ſpace of a night and a day, for according to ſuch Months did they adminiſter their civil affairs. And now it is in requeſt among many of the Greeks. But of this enough. Soon was the *Tetraeteris* found faulty, therefore was made a Kalender of eight years, in which doubling eight times the difference of the Sun, to wit, 11 D. ¼, made up three months, inſerted every third, fift, and eighth year. But the ſcruples comming ſhort in ſixteen years 3. D. they intercalated three: And ſeeing ſtill they could not make it even. *a Euctemon* and *Philippus* made an Almanack of nineteen years, which by *Callippus* was produced to 76. Months 640. of them 28. ἐμβόλιμοι, ἡ δ' πᾶξις τῶν ἐμβολίμων ὁμοίως ἐχρήσατο, ſaies *Geminus*, This was the progreſs of their reformation. But we muſt look back again and conſider that they counted their year two waies. Firſt of *b* CCCLX, as hath been already ſpoken, next CCCLIIII, when they made the Months interchangeably πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι, *full and deficient*, that is, one 29, the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their days. The firſt wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Synalepha* or contraction of the words νουμηνία. The ſecond δευτέρα. The eigth ἑξκαιδεκάτη, or half full: the full πανσέληνος. The laſt τελευτὴ, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος, becauſe that in the daies of *d Thales Mileſius*, who was the Author of that terme, the Month had 30 and no more, but ended, whence I ſuppoſe *e* αἱ εἰς ἅδου τελευταὶ ſignifie the the dead, the period of whoſe life has been come to. Though *Diogenian* gives other reaſons. And by the way we muſt not think, that they had no regard to the courſe of the Sun; *f ſed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris &c.* But nevertheleſs that the year might be correſpondent to the Sunne, they put five daies called ἐπαγόμεναι epacted, to the laſt month *Scirrophorion*, for the ſupplying of the defect. And ſo the year had 365. D. which was the true and juſt meaſure. But he might have added ſometimes 366, by reaſon of that ¼ which *Geminus* acknowledges the *Greeks* to have reckoned, although they accounted their Months but 30. D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which *a Aratus* ſtiles μίνα ἑπταετῆρον. To this point the

a Geminus p. 38. *whom I follow. Not ignorant that* Meton *was the firſt that made the Cicle of* 19. *years. Hence* Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτὸς. Metons *year is put for a long time proverbially.*

b Then were all the months of 30 D. *as you may ſee in Schol. Ariſtoph.* Achar. p. 412. c.

c Gem. p. 32.

d Laertius in vita.

e Pollux, l. 1.

f Petit. Eccl. Chro. d. 215.

a In Διοσημ. p. 78.

the Greek Authors telling their year by seed time. *b Sophocles* — Ἑπταμήνου Λειψυδρίου τέλους. For the ancients saies *c Theon*, took the year three waies; either by the Sun or seasons; as spring, summer, autumn, winter, *d* (*Sophocles* Ἐξῆς δὲ τὰς Ἀρκτῖνας ἀμφίνους χέρσους. Χειμῶνι δ' ἤδη (or thirdly by the the Moon: whose irregularity *Solon* is reported by *Plutarch* first to have marked. Observing therefore that she on the same day overtook and surpassed the Sun, *f* τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐξ ἑκατέρου συναμφότερον καὶ περιέχουσιν ἄλλου, he caused that to be called *g* ἕνη καὶ νέα *the old and new*, because that remnant which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the precedent Month, and that remnant which was after the conjunction appertaining to the subsequent. (These pieces *h Aratus* calls φωτὸς τοῦ μὲν μέγα) in which matter he is thought to have had *Homer* in sight, who in his *i Odysses* terms the thirteenth day, as *Didymus* expounds it, Τῷ μὲν ἑβδόμῃ μείων, τῷ δ' ἰσταμένῳ. Where we may note that then they had no ποσοῦν, but counted from one to twelve in the *ordinal numbers*, used by *k Demosthenes* in one Oration, ἐν δεκάτῃ, καὶ δωδεκάτῃ ἐκπεμπαίων. Then putting the lesser to the greater, they said τρίτῃ ἐπὶ δέκᾳ, τετάρτῃ δέκᾳ, *the third above ten, the fourth above ten*, and so to twenty. * But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great, and the light almost lost, they changed the order, and used δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος, ἐννάτῃ, &c. *the tenth of the decrease, the ninth of the decrease*, and so to the twenty ninth, δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος, *the second from the decrease, or from the end*, going lower in number still, as the splendor of the Moon was diminished; but the 30th they call'd ἕνη καὶ νέα for the cause above. Here likewise they take the reason why the Moneth ending was φθίνων. *l* Ἐπειδὴ φθίνειν ἅπασι καὶ φθείρεσθαι δοκεῖ τὰ φῶτα, Because the dayes and Moons do as it were die, according to that of *Horace*. *Novaque pergunt interire Luna.* m *Macrobius*. *quid aliud nisi illum* φθίνοντα *dicit, cujus paulatim deficientis supputatio in nomen desinit secuturi:* & ἱστάμενον *illum, qui præcedit numerum successuri priori in defectum meanti* ἱσταμένου stranding to supply the place of the departing Moneth; fixed and

b In Antigon p. 213.
c In Aratum p. 78.
d In Oedip. Tyran. p. 183.
e In vita pag. 66. l. 15.
f Plutarch: *g* Laert. in vita.
h In Diosem. p. 125.
i Οδυσσ. ξ. p. 164.
k Contra Timocratem. p. 446. n. 39.
* Vide Plut. loco supra laudat.
l Ulpian in Dem. p. 210.
m Macrobius Sat. l. c. 16.

and ſtill waiting till the Moon ſhall have journeyed to the compleating and ending of the precedent time. Thus the laſt day of our lives is ſaid to ſtand. *Virgil*, n *Stat ſua cuique dies*, as unto which we muſt paſs through all the reſt, and once approach. Thus ſquared they their times, and ſtate matters to the Moon. Hence read we μιᾶς καὶ πόλις ἄγειν, to count the Month as they do, who manage politick buſineſſes, or belonging to government. In which courſe they made their year of CCCLIV dayes, which divided into ten parts, make ten times 35, which ſpace each *a* φυλὴ ruled in its turn; the four that abounded were called ἐπαγόμεναι, in which they choſe Magiſtrates, being for that time deſtitute of them. The year thus diſpoſed, the months muſt of neceſſity be φλήνης καὶ κοῖλοι *cavi & pleni*, as *b Geminus*. Οἱ μὲν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀγγελῶν ὀλοχλήρους λαμβάνουσι μηνιαίους χρόνους εἶναι ἡμερῶν κθ'. ὥστε ἓξ μῆνας γίγνεσθαι ἡμερῶν ρθ'. ὅθεν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ καὶ πολὺ ἡμῶνες ἐναλλὰξ ἄγοντα πλήρεις καὶ κοίλοι. διὸ τὸ τῶν Σελήνης μῆνας ἡμερῶν λ'. If a Month have 29 D. ½. two have 59. Becauſe therefore the two halfes might be made one whole, they ſo ordered it, that now it ſhould be 29 D. then 30 D. The *Athenians* counted their day from the ſetting of the ſun on this day until the going down of the next. In reſpect to which *d Nicander* may be thought to ſay of noon ſleep, — ἀμφίκαιρος δ' ὕπνος *To take the reſt at the beginning of the even.* I know that the Ancients wrought but ſix hours in the day. *e Martial*, *ſexta quies laſſis ſeptima finis erit*. Which *f Euſtath.* affirmes in his Commentary on *Homer*. And therefore Z. H. Θ. I. were the notes of the 7, 8, 9, 10. hours, which joyned make ζῆθι, as if they ſhould have ſaid to the laborers, *Reſt*. The beginning of the year was *Hecatombæon*, *July*, the eighth; ſaies *h Petitus* they ever accounted that to be the firſt Month. In which order I have found them ſet down in a *i* Manuſcript in our publique Library, only *Maimacterion* is to be put above *Pyanepſion*.

n Æneid. 10. p. 300.

a Argum. Or. Dem. contra. Androt. p. 380.

b Eſemen. Aſtronom. pag. 31.

c Macrob. l. 1. Sat. c. 3. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 2. c. 77.

d In Theriac.

e Lib. 4. Ep. 8.

f In Il. ad ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκτὶ παθέζεσθαι.

g Caſaub. in Athen. p. 931.

h Chronol. Eclog.

i In 4o num. 24. p. 364. Sa

Roman

Roman.	*Macedon.*	*Hebrew.*	*Egypt.*	*Hellen.*	*Athenian.*
Ianuarius.	Αἰγιὰς.	Σάβας.	Τυβὶ.	Αὐτταῖος.	Ἑκατομβαιών.
Februarius.	Τορραῖος.	Ἄδαρ.	Μεχεὶρ.	Πελίγνιος.	Μεταγειτνιών.
Martius.	Ἰχθὺς.	Νισὰν.	Φαμενὼθ	Δύστρος.	Βοηδρομιών.
Aprilis.	Κῆος.	Ἰαβ.	Φαρμοῦθι.	Ξανθικὸς.	Πυανεψιών.
Maius.	Ταῦρος.	Ψιβαθὰν.	Παῦνι.	Ἀρτεμίσιος.	Μαιμακτηριών.
Iunius.	Δίδυμος.	Θαμὺζ.	Παῦνι.	Δαίσιος.	Ποσειδεών.
Iulius.	Καρκῖνος.	Αβ.	Ἐπεὶφ.	Πάνος.	Γαμηλιών.
Augustus.	Λέων.	Ἐλὰλ.	Μεσορὴ.	Λῶος.	Ἀνθεστηριών.
September.	Παρθένος.	Θισρεὶ.	Θοὺθ ἐπαγόμ.	Γορπιαῖος.	Ἐλαφηβολιών.
October.	Ζυγὸς.	Μαρσβὰν	Φαωφὶ.	Τῳσειρεταῖος.	Μουνιχιών.
November.	Σκορπίος.	Χαλὶς.	Ἐδυεὶ.	Δῖος.	Θαργηλιών.
December.	Τοξότης.	Τιβὴθ.	Χοιὰκ.	Ἀπολλαῖ.	Σκιροφοριών.

In which Table, although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Moneth *January*, yet it appears not that *Hecatombæon* was ever so removed out of his place, as *a Petitus* will have it; *Epiphanius* contradicting, of which by and by. Indeed when the Christians in honour of their *Easter* began the year in *April*, they called *April Hecatombæon*; as he *himself Testifies*. But that *Hecatombæon* was alwaies the first Moneth is not probable. For when the *Athenians* under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's successors, changed the head of the year from *July* to the seventh of *October*, it is like that they began at *Mamacterion* according to this *c* rule.

a Eclog. Chr. p. 41. 14.

b Loco Laud.

c *Ex* MS. Bibliotheca Bodleiana, in 10. n. 8.

Μαιμακτηριών.
Ποσειδεών.
Γαμηλιών.
Ἀνθεστηριών.
Ἐλαφηβολιών.
Μουνιχιών.
Θαργηλιών.
Σκιροφοριών.
Ἑκατομβαιών.
Μεταγειτνιών.
Βοηδρομιών.
Πυανεψιών.

d Vide Petav. in Epiphan. p. 158.

d Certain it is that the ſame *Attick* Months are ſometimes Lunary, & ſometimes not, but of 30 D. or *Julian*; when they are Lunary they have no ſure ſeat, but are now at this time, then at another. And this hath been the reaſon why the ſame Months have not been ſuted to the *Julian*, by writers. *Ulpian* on *Demoſthenes* parallels *Hecatombæon* to e *January*, and in the Oration for *Cteſiphon*, to *March*, and again to f *April*; g *March*, he calls *Boedromion*, which alſo he interprets h *June*. *Elaphebolion*, i *November*, k *September*, (in the Margin *February*) and l *December*. m *Thargelion*. *April*. *Munichion*, *January*. *Scirrophorion*, *March*. Which errors are curſorily noted by n *Petit*. in part, to no great ſatisfaction. But when by the decree of *Auguſtus Cæſar* they were charged to conform their year to the *Julian*, they o thus numbred.

e Pag. 21.
f Pag. 163.
g In Oynth. 3.
h Pag. 148.
i Pag. 140.
k pag. 167.
l Pag. 120.
m Pag. 167.
n Holeg. Chr. l. 1. c. 6. p. 213.
o Vide Petav. in Epiphan.

Menſes Attici.	Menſes Juliani.
Ελαφηβολιών.	*March.*
Μουνιχιών.	*April.*
Θαργηλιών.	*May.*
Σκιροφοριών.	*June.*
Ἑκατομβαιών.	*July.*
Μεταγειτνιών.	*August.*
Βοηδρομιών.	*September.*
Μαιμακτηριών.	*October.*
Πυανεψιών.	*November.*
Ποσειδεών.	*December.*
Γαμηλιών.	*January.*
Ἀνθεστηριών.	*February.*

But of this, ſo much onely. We muſt handle their Lunarie year, becauſe according to them were their feaſts kept. From whence ſometimes they would count, as a πρώτην ἢ δευτέραν ἐπὶ Διονυσίαν. So much, and as long ſince the *Bacchanals*, ſpeaking of the age of a girle. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy dayes, view this Almanack.

a Ariſtoph. pag. 806. c.

Hecatombæon, July.

1 Πρώτη ἱσταμένου· Πρυτανεία πρώτη,

2 Τεῖ

2 Δεύτ.
3 Τετρτ.
4 Πέμπτ.
5 Ἕκτ.
6 Ἑβδόμ. * Κάθοδος Θησέως ἐκ Κρήτης. Kept in memorie of the return of *Theseus* out of *Creet*, after he had
7 * Ογδόη. slayn the *Minotaure*, b *Plutarch*. The solemnitie c *Ovid* seems to describe: *Nullus Erechthidis*
8 Ἐνάτ. *fertur celebratior illo, Illuxisse dies, &c.* the eight
9 Δεκάτ. day of every Month was sacred to him. He had also a festival called *Thesēia*, in honour of gathering together the dispersed people of *Attica*.
10 Πρώτη μισοῦντος.
11 Δευτέρα. Κυρία ἐκκλησία ά.
12 Τρίτη. Κρόνια. Of these, also of the day, speaks d *De-*
13 Τετρτ. *mosthenes*. Then did the masters wait on
14 Πέμπτη, their servants, as in the Roman Saturnals,
15 * Ἕκτη, e *L. Accius*. *Maxima pars Gratum Saturno,*
16 Ἑβδόμη. *& maximè Attica Conficiunt sacra, quæ*
17 Ογδόη. *Cronia esse iterantur ab illis, Cumq; diem cele-*
18 Ἐνάτη. *brant, per agros, urbesque fere omnes Exercent*
19 Ἑνάς. *epulis lati, famulosque procurant Quisq; suos*
20 Δεκάτη Φθίνοντος. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. 6. Hence
21 Ἐνάτη, was this month called by the ancient *Athe-*
22 Ογδόη. *nians* Κρόνιος, afterwards *Hecatombæon*, from
23 Ἑβδόμη. ἑκατόμβαια, sacrifices to *Jupiter* or *Apollo*,
24 Ἕκτη. some think with the blood of an hundred
25 Πέμπτη. beasts: For so were they profuse in their
26 Τετράς. sacrifices. f *Ovid Taurorum sanguine centum.*
27 * Τρίτη παναθήναια. g The Scholiast of *Homer*
28 Δευτέρα. sais that *Hecabombe* may be used for five and twenty beasts, whose feet,
29 Ἕνη καὶ νέα. make up the number of an hundred, ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν βοῶν, ἢ ὅτι ἐξ ἑκατοντάδες ζώων.

* To *Minerva*, the protectress of their citie, as hath been before

b In Vit. p. 12. Metamorph. l. 7. Hab. 23. vide illum dlligenter: nam erit operæ prætium.
d Pag. 446. contra Timocratem.
e in Annalib. vide Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 7. versus finem.
* Then were kept the Meniæa in memorial of their transmigration. Plut. p. 8. l. 9. By some it is tearmed Ξυνοίκια Aristoph. p. 700. Plut. initio Them. l. 12.
f Metamorp.
g In Il. a. pag. 6.

before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as *h Plutarch*, ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν δήμων συνοικισθέντων εἰς ἕνα κοινὸν. At first they had the name Ἀθήναια, by *Erichthonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of solemnization there were rare shews exhibited to the people, such as horse-races, wrestling, dancing in armour, called πυρρίχη, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in procession the *Peplus*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Gyants. All which you may read in *i Meursius* at large, and *k Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

h In vita p. 8. lib. 8.

The second of this month is called νέα, because it hath but 29 daies, and so alwaies in *cavis*.

i In Panathenæis.

k Pag. 140 197 180. 181. 167. 580. 650. 746.

Metagitnion August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo* called Μεταγείτνια.

1 Κυρία. ἐκκλησία γ'.

2

3

4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ'.

5

6

7 Πρυτανεία δευτέρα.

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17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α'.

18

Κυρία ἐκκλησία β'

ς *Boedromion.* September.

* *From this Month came the Feasts* Boedromia *from Theseus overthrowing the* Amazons. Plut. p. 9 *or* Iones *helping the Athenians against* Eumolpus Βοηδρομεῖν *to aid because in necessity they made a cry.* Aristophon. Βοὴν ἴσχειν Lucian. ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, Latini *Quiritari hence help came in.*

Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When *Pausanias* and *Aristides* overthrew *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his General near *Platæa*, a citie of *Bœotia*, *a Herodotus*, *b Justin.*

Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. *Miltiades* leader of the *Attick* forces got the upper hand of the *Persians*. In which battle when *Cynegirus* pursued the flying enemies to their ships, he caught hold of one with his right hand, which lost, he made use of his left; that cut off, he in token of his prowess spared not his teeth,

Κυρία ἐκκλησία γ'.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ'.

§ Χαριστήρια Ἐλευθερίας. to the eternizing of his name for valour against his enemies.

* Ἀγυρμὸς Μαστήρια.

§ In thankfulness for the delivery of *Greece*; at what

time *Darius* and his fleet went homeward. *b Aristides* describes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Altar to *Jupiter* that freed them.

* The greater In which they were made *c* ἐποπτεῖαι, or admitted to the sight of that they worshipped. The first day was called ἀγυρμὸς, perhaps from the conflux of the people. The second ἀλαδε μύσται, because the Crier then warned them to goe to the sea. The third day they sacrificed a Barble, because it devours the sea hare, an enemie to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket representing *Proserpine* gathering flowers, which women following cried χαῖρε Δήμητερ, Hail *Ceres*. The fifth, they rann with torches Hence λαμπαδηδρομία, and λαμπάδων ἡμέρα. The sixt, *Bacchus* was carried in pomp, hence it is termed Ἰακχος. The seaventh day they exercised in feats of activity, and he that overcame had wheat given him. The 8th was *Epidauria* from *Æsculapius* his comming from *Epidaurus* to *Athens* to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two measures of corn, and setting one at East, and the other at the West, they powred them out, one looking to heaven and crying ὗε the other to the ground, saying, τέκη. Thus *Meursius*. That day was καυσχίη.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία ά.

Here I look on Meursius for brevities sake; but if you please to read severally, see Aristoph. Sch. p. 85. 98. 131. 138. 455. 529. 647. 141. 218. 227. 228. 231. 232. 217. 262. 264. 516. Aristid. T. 1. p. 323. Clem. Alex. in Protr. p. 10.

b Tom. 1. p. 157. see Plut. in Arist. p. 241. *c* Sch. Arist. p. 247.

a Sympor. Q. l. 9. p. 6. & in l. περὶ φιλαδελφίας. p. 331.

The second of this Month was left out ever, saies *a Plutarch*, instead of which some are perswaded, the name onely was omitted, as τετράς for Τετὰς, which was recompenced by ἐν δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου, or ἐνὰς καὶ νέα. As in a defective Month δευτέρα ἱσταμένου, for the twentieth. Of this judgment is the *b worthy Petavius*.

b Lib. de doct. Temp. l. c. 5. p. 111. D.

* Mæmacterion *is to be inserted here.*

* *Pyanepsion.* October.

This Month took denomination from the Feasts *Pyanepsia*. For mingling the remainder of their food after their arriving they put it into one pot, and seething it, were Jovial altogether at the same.

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Πυανέψια. After that *Theseus* had buried his Father, he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if he returned safe from the death of the *Minotaure*, he would sacrifice unto him a pot of sodden beans. Hence πυανέψια, as it were, χυτρέψια. For the ancients called beanes πύανας.

Ἄνοδος εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόρια,

Κυρία ἐκκλησία γ'.

Θεσμοφόρια, *c Plautus* calls this Festival *Vigilias Cereris*, which the *Attick* Dames kept most sober and chast, strowing their beds with *agnus castus* for that purpose, it being an enemy to lust. They prepared themselves with fasting, but after that, took their liquor freely. The number of dayes were three allotted, as some; or four, as others; When *Castellanus* saies that *Ovid* makes them nine, its false; for that was the *Mysteria*, as we above have shewn. They were done in honour to *Ceres*, that gave laws first, as she is termed Δημήτηρ θεσμοφόρος. Of these you may read *d Aristophanes* and his Scholiast. c In Aul.

Πρυτανεία δ'. d Pag. 611. 770. 781. 783. 819. 820. 829.

Ἀπατούρια Kept this Month, When the Parents brought their children to their Tribes, to be inrolled, I suppose for fear of deceit in patrimonies. Then they made merry for four daies. The first was Δορπία. The second Ἀναρρύσις. The third Κυρίωσις. The fourth Ἐπίβδα.

Χαλκεῖα. in honour of *Minerva*. *f Meursius* teaches us that they were celebrated the 17 of this Month, but *Petitus* hath thus placed them. f Græcia Feria. l. 2.

Mamacterion November.

This Month is to be placed before *Pyanepsion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who so hath set it, though much against the opinion of other learned: as Mr *Selden*, *Petavius*, and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept as for most approved.

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7 Κυρία ἐκκλησία ϛ'.
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17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'. *Plutarch* in the life of *Aristides*, sayes that the *Bœotians*, nay and *Greeks* send yearly some to sacrifice to
18 *tians*, nay and *Greeks* send yearly some to sacrifice to
19 the memory of those that died at *Platæa*, and every
c Pi. 241. 20 fifth year they have great pastimes, which *c* he sets
21 down the manner of.
22
23 Πρυτανεία. λ'. This Month is derived from *Jupiter Mamactes*: for I suppose they
24 first found Gods, afterwards Festivals to them. Not
25 the Months first, and then named the Gods from
26 them.
27
28
29

Poſideon December.

From *Neptune*, who is *Poſidon*. For the first day of this Month was ſacred to him, as *b Caſaubon*. Hence he thinks it to be called Ποσειδὼν ἡμέρα.

b In Theoph. Dhar. ult. p. 336.

1
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3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία αὖ
5 * Λήναια. * *Dionyſia τὰ κατ' ἄγρας*, Without the City: It ſeems when they had gathered in vin-
6 tage, and preſſed their grapes, Λῆνος *Torcular*, Then
7 were they moſt jocund, as may appear out of that,
8 *Like the voyce of them that tread the Wine preſs*, and in
9 *c Oppian.* ἐπιλήνια χαίρειν. On which words *d Conradus*
10 *Rittarſpuſius* takes Λωναῶν to be *January*.

c Κυνηγ. α. ver. 127.
d Pagina. 18

11
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13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία ϛ'.
14
15
16 Ἀλῶα. A Feaſt to *Ceres*. The day doubtful.
e Demoſth.

e Pag. 743.

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23 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.
24
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26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ'.

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28
29 Πρυτανεία. ϛ'.
30

Gamelion January.

1 From the Marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom be-
2 fore we have spoken, and more you may read in *Tzet-*
3 *zes* on *Lycophhon*. That Month wherein this people cou-
4 pled, hence is called *Gamelion*, from γάμος, *nuptiæ*. It is sa-
5 cred to *Juno*, Who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and
6 *conjugalis*, Prefident of Weddings and the Marriage bed.
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9 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α'.
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18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β'.
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28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.
29

Anthesto-

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β'.

Γρυταneία ξ.

Ἀνθεστήρια Kept in great mirth for three daies in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first πιθοίγια from πίθος the tubs, and οἴγειν to open, for at the broaching of their vessels they drunk stiffely. The second χοαὶ from *Chus*, a good capacious vessel. In this he that could drink down the rest of his companions had a golden crown. The third χύτροι, I suppose different from χύτροι. From this festival the month is named. The twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Lymnis* were kept, called μεγάλα & ἀρχαῖοτερα: The 13th were acted Comœdies, begun the 3d year of the 93 Olympiad, when *Callias* was Archon. But after they were taught as *a Donat* and *b Ulpian* witnesse, and *c Aristophanes*, ὅτι πολὺς συνηθροίζετο ἐπιθυμῶν τοῦ κεραστοῦ δεξάμενος βλάπτειν, saies one

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ'.

Of this you may see Aristoph. p. 293. 417 419. 422. 222.

The day was called χύτροι *likewise, but not in the sense spoken.*

a In Terent. pag. 289.
b In Demost. pag. 184.
c Pag. 143.

Ela-

Elaphebolion March.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.

Θυσία Ασκληπίων Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ'.

Πρυτανεία β'.

Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἀστυ. [t] Of these *Æschines* makes mention, & you shall have them obvious every where in Greek Authors.

[t] Contrà Ctesiphon.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α'.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ϛ'.

Munichion April

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ά.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ά.

Μυνυχία πρυτανεία ἑνάτη. *Munychia* were observed to *Diana*, who was so called and had a temple in *Munychia*, by *Athens*. The month bears the name. In this month * Διάσια. were the causes of strangers adjudged. *a Arist. Sc.* * To *Jupiter Meilichius* The greatest day that the *Attick* rout was kept in. See this *b Aristophanes* and *c Eustathius*.

a Avid. p. 60.
b Pag. 150. 174.
c Iſme. & Iſm. l. 1.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ά.

Thargelion May.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ϛ'.

Θαργήλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*; holding it to be their nativitie. On this day did they expiate for the sins of the people. For they were wont to nourish some base men, and of no account, at the publick charge, whom in time of pestilence, or the like, they sacrificed for the sins of the Citie; two in number, saies the *a Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*; whence they were called Συμβόσιοι: but more properly καθάρματα & φαρμακοὶ *b Aristophanes*.

a In Æquites pag. 353.

b In Ranis.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ'.

Βενδίδεια. To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is named Βενδὶς.

Παναθήναια μικρά. Not much different from the greater. See *Meursius*.

Καλλυντήρια. Πρυτανεία. ι'.

Πλυντήρια. *Petitus* places it on the 24 day, others will have the 25. To *Minerva*, on which they take off the ornaments of her statue, and wash it I suppose, *c Plutarch*, *d Xenophon*.

c Pag. 180.
d Ἑλλην. α', p. 257.

Scirrophorion June.

Σκίρα To *Minerva* from *Sciron*, a Canopie, under which her Priests did walk in pomp at that time: or from the statue of *Minerva* fonnd in *Scirus* [c] *Schol. Aristoph.*

[c] Pag. 497. 725

Βυφόνια. It was not lawful anciently to kill an Oxe: wherefore when one had seen that beast eating the meal provided for the Sacrifice, he slew him and fled, in memory of which this day was kept. Afterwards they did mitigate the Law, and gave licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the plough. To which *Juvenal* may allude. *Ut vetulus bos* [d] *Satyr. 10. ver. 268.*

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'. *Qui domini cultris tenne & miserabile collum Prabet, ab invito jam fastiditus aratro.*

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. λ'.

Πρυτανεία ἡ φυλὴ πρώτη, &c.

Where *Petitus* makes the four first Tribes to govern each his day, on those four that abounded above the year, *Sigonius* seems to agree, and * *Manssacus* approves it. Neither is it misliked by * *Petavius*. * *Scaliger* hath falsely taught us otherwise, who maketh each *Prytaneia* to rule 36 daies, which none are ever to have done, except the first four.

* Athen. Rep. l. 2. c. 3.
* In notis ad Harpocra.
* De Doct. empl. l. 2. c. 1.
* De emend Temp. l. 1.

CAP. XI.

De Tragœdia, Satyra, & Comœdia.

[a] Vid. Can. Chron. ad Gr. Ephoch. Mar. Arund. p. 97.

IT is taken for granted among the Ancients, that *Homer* who lived [a] 907 years before Christ, was the first that

taught *b* τραγικῶς λέγειν, to ſpeak in Tragœdy, comprehending great and many matters in few words and very conciſely, being more large and uſing circumlocutions in matters of leſs conſequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the property of a Tragœdian. This foundation being laid, following ages ſtill built (though rudely) a ſtructure to ſmall perfection. *Nam poſt illius tale tantumq; documentum, &c* ſays *c Donat.* For after that *Homer* by the Iliads had repreſented a Tragœdie, by the *Odyſſes* a Comœdy, moſt ingenious imitators took thoſe Poems and ſet them in order, and divided them, which at that time were inconſiderately & without judgment written, impoliſht and in the firſt rudiments not ſo neat and trim, as in proceſs of time they were made. For Poeſie was a great while in her minority, and very rude, after the firſt publiſhing of Plays. For we ſee little or nothing of *d Suſarion*, the firſt Comœdian, worth our time: ſome few verſes onely, and ſo few as may but witneſs ſuch an Author. The original of the word Comœdy is ſuppoſed to be taken from divers reaſons: Firſt, becauſe in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*, they ſung them; and ſo it may be derived from κῶμος *commeſſatio*; *e* κωμάζειν, ſignifying τὸ ἀσήμως ἐπᾴδειν, to ſing baſely at the cup. Secondly, from κῶμη, ſleep, becauſe when any of the *Attick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the cuſtome (as before hath been ſpoken) for the party abuſed, to come in the night ſeaſon into the ſtreets, and with a loud voice cry, ſuch and ſuch rejoyce in wrong, commit ſome outrages, though there be Gods and Laws. And after that proclaimed the parties name, who on the morrow was fought out by the husbandmen and much ſhamed, by which theſe wrongs were redreſſed. Thirdly from κῶμη, a ſtreet, becauſe when the old *Athenians* would note a wicked mans life out to the world, meeting merily in the ſtreets and high ways, they layd open, every mans life, and concealed not his name, *f In vicos & compita ex omnibus locis lati, alacreſque vehebant: ubique cum nominibus ſingulorum vitam publicabant.* Theſe verſes were firſt ſung *g* in the green Meddows, *b* about the beginning of the ſpring; When the husbandmen kept the Feſtivals of

Bacchus

b Hermog. de Eloq. Meth. p. 561. c. 33. Euſtath. in Præf. ad Ilird.

c Tract. de Trag. & Comœd. Præfat. Terentio.

d Marmo. Arund & ad ea Seld. CL. Præfixa etiam Ariſtoph. περὶ κώμῳ. ſ.

e Sch. in Nuz. utel. C. d. 106.

f Donatus Tra. & Com.

g Idem ibid.

h In Synopſi. vitæ Ariſtop. Th. Magiſter.

Bacchus the God of Wine, to whom they ſacrificed a Goat, becauſe his biting is an enemy to the Vine; the skin of which they took and ſowed up cloſe, filled with wine, and anointed it with oyle to make it ſlippery, and ſo hopped with one leg upon it, making themſelves laughter at the falls they often took. This ſport they call ἀσκωλιάζειν from ἀσκὸς a skin and ἅλλεσθαι, to leap, *i Ariſtophanes.* Ἀσκωλιάζ' ἐστὶν ὅτε περὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν. *k Virgil* hath fitly ſet it out. *i* Plut. p. 108.

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Cæditur, & veteres ineunt proſcenia ludi:
Præmiaque, l ingentes Pagos, & compita circum
Theſeidæ poſuêre atque inter pocula læti
Mollibus in pratis, unctos ſaliêre per utres. *k* Geor. 2.

l Iſa. Tzetzes in Prolog. ad Poetas, interpretes κώμας, μίγρα χωρία.

After *Suſarion*, ſprang up *Theſpis*, the firſt that made Tragœdies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lacrymoſa Poemata*, ſad Poems; becauſe they repreſent humane miſeries, the misfortunes of Kings and great men eſpecially, there being no place for a poor man, but only to dance, as *m Arrian* hath obſerved. Which thing gave an occaſion to *n Socrates*, when he ſaw the moſt worthy and rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants, to ſay to *Antiſthenes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did ſome famous exploit? So in Tragœdies we mark that ſuch as *Atreus*, *Thyeſtes*, and *Agamemnon* are ſlain; but what Poet was yet ſo impudent as to bring a baſe fellow on the ſtage ſacrificed? Nor ſupernumerary is that of *Euripides* for *K. Archelaus*, deſiring that he would write a Tragœdy of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragœdy might happen to him; meaning ſorrow and lamentation. For ſo is τραγῳδία uſed, as ὁ κωμῳδία for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The firſt Tragœdy that *Theſpis* taught, was that of *Alceſtis* repriéving her husband from death by her own, as *p* Mr *Selden* hath conjectured. This *Theſpis* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragœdies, as *q* ἀναιρεῖν ψεύδεσι, a fruitleſs lying. *Horace* of him thus ſpeaks. *m* In Epictet. pag. 95. *n* Ælian. Var. l. 2. c. 11. *o* Athen. l. 3. p. 90. *p* Ad Marm. Arund. *q* Laert. in Solone p. 40.

Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe camenæ
Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe poëmata Theſpis;
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora.

Upon which words ſome have written, that his Poems were

so voluminous, that he was constrained to bring them upon wains. But alas, a poor conceit! r *Franciscus Lasinius Vticensis* is of opinion, That *Thespis* carried his scene upon carres, and *Acron*, That the *Chorus* carried about in Waines acted Tragœdies. *Chori plaustris circumducti Tragœdias agebant.* s I avouch that at the first the Poets acted alone their own Fables. And to me it seems a ground for to stand on, the Greek Authors by the word ὑποκριτὴς, intimating a Poet. Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὑποκριταὶ, &c. The ancients, saies t *Ulpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas*, *actors*, which we now term *Tragœdi*, such as *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, &c. The place in which they sung their Poems, was a scene upon a Wain drawn in Procession to the honour of their God *Bacchus*, as among the *Greeks* the customes was says the Scholiast of *Nazianzen*. Of the manner in those ancient times, * *Plutarch* shall thus inform you. Αμαξιδίων ἡγεμὼν, &c. A pot of wine and a vine twig, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs, and last of all the *Phallus*, In which Solemnity the Poets in Wains following the pomp, might without controul laugh, scorn, and deride any they met, saies x *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, or were wont, as the y Schol. of *Nazian.* to rayl upon each other. Whence πομπεύειν, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in good sence sometimes z to celebrate the pomp, or go in procession in honour to the festival) and ἀσχημόνημα, a scandal or reproach, ὕβρεις, λοιδορήματα. Whence likewise came the Greek proverb, *b* ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης λαλεῖν, *tanquam ex plaustro loqui*, and ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης ὑβρίζειν *tanquam ex plaustro convitiari*, to give reins to the tongue, to be free in abuse. Which that they might do the better without shame, or blushing, sometimes would they anoint their faces *amurca*, *olei face*, with the dregs of oyl, saies *Donat.* or of wine (for so I interpret τρύγα) from which Poets by *d Aristophanes* are called τρυγῳδοποιοὶ. *Horace. Perunctis fæcibus ora.* Sometimes would they put on vizards, *e* which least they should hurt the head were defended from the skin with a woolled cap named μίτρα. A word elegantly used by *Demosthenes*, in a Metaphor drawn from the liberty and impunitie of the persons

r In Horatii poetic.

s Schol. Arist. p. 142.

t In Demost. p. 40.

u Stel. 6. p. 107.

* ἐν τῷ Συμποσ. p. 346.

x Antiq Rom. l. 7.

y Loco laud.

z Hermog. Meth de Eloquentia, c. 2 p. 519.

a Dem. pro Coron. p. 134.

b Schol. Arist. p. 142.

c Ulpian in loc. cit. Dem.

d Nubibus p. 141.

e Ulpian in Dem. p. 254.

f De falsa Legatione.

sons that wrote it, Οὐκ ἐπὶ σοὶ μόνον τοιούτων γραφέντων ἀδικημάτων κἂν πιλίδιον λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ κεφαλῷ. Think not to escape scot-free for such villanie, though you get a *Pileum* on your head. We may apply it in threatning to any slanderer of whom we surely intend to be revenged. But I seem to forget the Poet, while I speak of the stage, I will therefore return to him. *Thespis*, as I said, was the first that invented Tragœdies, so called, as *Donat.* tels because (least there should be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be stirred up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Caper namque pro dono his dabatur.* τράγος is a Goat, and ᾠδὴ a song. *Horace*, *Carmine qui Tragico vilem certavit ob hircum.* Before that time some say that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made Tragœdies but the most received opinion is this which *Horace* hath set down of *Thespis*. Before him there was no art of poesie Tragical, but at their festivals, when they ascribed all their mirth and delight to their Gods, they did especially to *Bacchus* (and so afterward, when the Actors are called διθύραμβοι τραγῳδοί, and τραγῳδεῖν, simply by *Demosthenes*, by *Donat. Artifices*. The word is used for Juglers, and such as *Hokus Pokus* in *Theophrastus*) they would feast ond afterwards scoff and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their solemnitie. They would moreover dance at rude Musick, & from thence suppose they the *Chorus* to have spung up. They would likewise cast forth αὐτοσχεδιάσματα as they term them, in *Virgils* language, *versu incomptos*, k *Numeros innumeros eo tempore fundi solitos & sine arte.* For they had of old but two sorts of verses, *Heroicks*, in which they sung the praise of Gods and Noble men, & from this in a short time with small care grew a Tragœdie; the other sort was *Iambicks* as toying & lascivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, & from hence came a Comœdie. At first small was the difference between a Tragœdie and Comœdie *l constat sanè primis temporibus ignoratum fuisse discrimen inter Tragœdiam & Comœdiam*, and the reason is because even Tragœdies had their wantonnes and petulancie. At first they sung in honour

g Orat. περὶ στεφ. p. 242.
h Charact. vi. Casaub.
i Georg. 2.
k Casaub. de Sat. Poes. l. 2.
l Casaub. ib.

nour to *Bacchus Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praised their Demi-gods, which when the people saw they cryed down, with Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, whence our proverbial adverbis fitly used ἀπροσδιονύσως, for nothing to the purpose. But to give content to the people, the satyrs did *præludere*. But after that, when a Tragœdie took state they excluded the Satyrs, and were only for sad and serious persons, by which mournful poems the people were wont to be cast down, symphathizing with the person represented, therefore to cheer them up a *Chorus* of wanton Satyrs were brought in by *Thespis* as *m Horace*.

m De arte Poet.

Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit. & asper
Incolumi gravitate, jocum tentavit, eò quod
Illecebris erat, & gratâ novitate morandus
Spectator, functusque sacris, & potus, & exlex.

In a Satyrick play, Satyrs have a *Chorus* place, or else the persons are Satyrick and ridiculous, and for the easing of the mindes of the spectators, they would bring in Satyrs for sports sake, and many of their Tragœdies had some mixture of Satyrick sport, saies *n Casaubon*. *Fuisse aliquando pluribus Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas*. Of this I say *Thespis* was the first inventer, who likewise to ease the *Chorus* (*o* for that acted only) brought one actor upon the stage. to whom *Æschylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, so the number was three, *Æschylus* is δευτεραγωνιστὴς, *Sophocles* is τριταγωνιστὴς, a word put for an obscure & base fellow in *p Demosthenes*, *Ulpian*, ὡς ἀδοκίμως τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ, speaking of *Æschines*, if I remember, *Tully* cals them Actors *secundarũ & tertiarum partium*. *b Ut in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus sæpe illum qui secundarum & tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquanto clariùs dicere quàm ipse primarum, multum summittere, ut ille princeps quàm maximè excellat*. But let me speak what I have to say of a Tragœdie. *a* None was permitted once to act *Æschylus*, *Enripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragœdies, but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the actors might (as I conceive) repeat them. Τὸν δὲ πολλοὺς γεγραμμένα παραγινώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις, οὐκ ἐξὸν ἦν αὐτὰς ὑποκρί-

n p. 126. Sat. Poesi.

o Lacrt. p. 220.

p 184.

q In divinat

a Plutarch. in vita X Rhet. p. 452. B.

νεσθαι,

νδεν. And to this purpose by a law of *Lycurgus* the Orator, were they commanded to be transcribed, and kept under custodie ἐν κοινῷ. Yet the *b* Author of the life of *Æschylus* writes that the people made a decree, that he should receive such a summe of gold, that would διδάσκειν the plaies of *Æschylus after* his death. I put the word διδάσκειν, *docere*. Because Tragœdians as well as the Comœdians were said τὸν διδάσκαλον ἄγειν τῶν χορῶν, to labour in teaching the people. And for this end did the ancients lay out so much mony upon their Theaters. *c Sed immane quos quantosque sumptus, in Theatra, in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum repræsentationem fecerit antiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab utrisque emendari, & prudentiam conferri, sed & scripta antiquissima & formas Reipublicæ, ac vitam magistratuum, cum summo spectatorum fructu, in Comœdia examinari, factiones componi, ac gravissima subinde publico suppeditari crederent consilia.* Not unfitly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theatre, *I came hither to teach you, and not to be taught by you.* Hence of a Tragœdie or Comœdie the Greek writers say, *d* διδάσκεσθαι *docetur fabula*, and διδάσκειν, *docere*, as sometime ἀκούειν, as you may see in *e Athenæus*. The following Poets did not alwaies represent their own Fables, but oft-times their predecessors: so saies *f Quintilian*; the people permitted the work of *Æschylus* to be dealt with, because in many places his verses were not set in order. He brought great grace to the stage, and first taught σκηνογραφίαν the painting of the Scenes, which some think *Horace* to aim at, when he saies, *Modicis instravit pulpita signis.* Which because it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay spoken affirmatively by some) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did πολλὰ καινοτομῆσαι, bring in many new things: such as leaving out the action of the Poet (for before the Poet himself acted) by reason of the badness of his own voice; he found out white shooes which the Actors and Dancers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteen, before but twelve; he fitted likewise his Tragœdies to the natures of the Actors, &c. But that he invented σκηνογραφίαν I cannot find. Some-

b Juxta finem

c Heinsius Prolog. ad Aristarchum Srcrum.

d Athenæus Dip. lib. 6. pag. 268. vid. Casaub. *e* pag. 270. *f* Lib. 10.

g T. Magiſter.

what likewiſe was added by *Euripides*:g as to ſet out the Argument of the Fable in the beginning of the Tragœdie, as you may obſerve; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the laſt and principle point of that one action which he would repreſent, which by the glory of our nation *h* Sr *Phil. Sidney* is not paſt by as frivolous, without noting. Theſe three were the Princes of the Tragick ſtile, who exhibited to the People every year at ſome certain ſolemnities their Poems, ſtriving who ſhould get the victory by the approbation of Judges, choſen for that purpoſe, called *i* Δρο υπακοὶ κριταὶ, and *k* Κριταὶ ὲπὶ Διονύσῳ; Ten in number, think ſome at firſt, gathering out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Becauſe when he had brought the Reliques of *Theſeus* out of *Syrus*, *Aphepſion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, choſe not the Judges as ſoon as the Theatre was filled, and ſpectators placed: but preſently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captains, of each Tribe one, after accuſtomed ſacrifice he ſwore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young, for which *Æſchylus* grieving went into *Sicilie*, where he died, and was buried ne ar *l Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of theſe Critick Judges was alwayes ten. This we acknowledge done in teſtimony of high acceptation of *Cimons* ſervice. And yet in judgment upon Tragœdians, the number might be ſo great. For there ſeems to be a difference between the Judges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. The number of Tragick Judges, grant we haply to be ſuch as we ſpeak; the power incontrolable, as from whom there was no appeal to other. *m Cum neque provocatio ab iis eſſet, neque de quibus illi judicarent, magiſtratus cæteri ſententiam pronunciarent.* The Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb, *n* πέντε κριτῶν ὲν γένεσιν. *Sub quinque judicibus lis eſt.* The *o* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* ſpeaks ſomewhat uncertain. Judges, quoth he, paſs cenſures upon the Comœdians, and they who had five voices were happy. Thoſe were all. For if there had been ten of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets felicity to have had equal voices. For the odd gave a great ſtroak. Hence wiſhes

h *In the defence of Poeſie.*

i Heinſius in Proleg. ad Ariſtorchum ſacrum.

k Æſchines cont. Cteſiph.

l Plut. Cimone p. 352. l. 39.

m Heinſius loco laudato.

n Zenobius.

o Ad Aves. p. 562.

the

the *Chorus* in the behalf of the Poet — Ἐνὶ κριτῇ νικᾶν μόνον, to be Victor by one voice onely. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick Judges had free liberty of suffrages beyond the power of the people, the *Comick* had not: For when *Aristophanes* taught his Νεφέλας, they so much took the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conqueror, καὶ πρωτεύσαντα τῶν κριτῶν ἀγνοῦν Ἀσκραίους, ἀλλὰ μὲν ἄλλον γε φάναι, saies *p Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Aristophanes* uppermost (as the faction was, which *q Aristophanes* calls δεύτερον ἐν πυκνίτῃ, the most excellent first, the next to him second, and the next to him third (which was no small praise, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honestum est in secundis tertiisve consistere*) and no other. For which cause I suppose the Poets before reciting, were wont to sacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and spectators, *r Aristophan.*

Ὀμνυμ' ἐπὶ τύποις πᾶσι νικᾶν τοῖς κριταῖς
Καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς πᾶσι — Where the Scholiast interprets ὄμνυμι truly as it is to be understood, ἐυχομαι, to supplicate. And good reason, For if they pleased not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with stones. To which use *s Aristophanes* points, saying, — οὐ βάλλετο; nay, sometimes would they hiss them, which they term χλάζειν and συρίττειν. Sometime stamp them out of the Theatre, which they call πίτρους πατεῖν by *t Pollux* interpreted ἰδιώτας τοὺς πίτρους ἐκπατάξαι. Another difference is that *u* the *Comick* Judges were punished if they judged not right; the *Tragick* not so. And for these reasons have some conjectured, nay positively written, that their Judges were of two sorts, old and new; in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they confounded both, making no oddes Between the Critick Judges of Tragœdies, and Comœdies: But of this, Reader, you may determine as your authors shall afford authority. Before Judges, as I said, the Poets in emulation presented their labours, & they who in their opinion lost the day, were said * ἐκπίπτειν, by *x Casaubon* interpreted *non stare*. The time of exhibiting their Tragœdies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus*, called *Dionysia in Agris*,

p Var. H. l. 2.
q Avid. p. 562.
r Loco laud.
s Ranis pag. 428.
t Lib. 6. c. 19.
u Æschines contra Ctesiph. pag. 98.
* Heinsius Prolegom. *x* Sat. Poesi,

Agris, or *Lenæa*, in the month *Posideon*, on the *Anthesteria*; or *Dionysia* in *Limnis*, in the month *Anthesterion*; or *Dionysia* in *urbe*, in the month *Elaphebolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thrasylus* in *y Laertium*, which some deny; yet the same write, that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this festival. I say but one, because it was a custome among the Poets of ancient dayes to entertain their people with more playes then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modò singulas committerent fabulas, modò plures*, sayes *z Causaubon*: sometime in the same year three, and then was it called τριλογία; sometimes four, and then they stilled it τετραλογίαν; *a* Τὰς τέτταρας δράματα ἐκάλουν ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ. Whereof sayes mine Author, the fourth was a Satyrical play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the same man, as those of *Æschylus*, named therefore *Oresteia*; to wit, Ἀγαμέμνων. Χοηφόροι. Εὐμενίδες. Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the same subject, as that of *Euripides*. *Medea. Philoctetes. Dictys.* The fourth was Θερισταί, sayes the Author of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter seems to me not to reach to the expression of the Greek word Θερισταί, Σάτυροι; *Messores, Satyros*; he ought to have rendred it thus, *Messores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word bears this sense is sufficiently dilucidated by *b Casaubon*. That the greatest task of action lay on the *Chorus* is as apparent as the Sun at noon. The number of them in Comœdies were twenty four, and six *juga* (each *jugum* consisting of four; but τρίχοι four, each στοῖχος six men) in Tragœdies fifty; until the time of *Æschylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which so terrified the people, *c* that the children and younger sort fainted, and the women suffered abortion; for which reason, saies *Pollux*, the number was lessened (which some deny) by law. They were by that Act brought to fifteen, five *juga*: I say *juga*, because they were divided into στοίχους, and ζυγὰ. Ζυγὸν was when the *Chorus* entred by three, and then it was called κατὰ ζυγὰ παρόδους, by file. Στοῖχος, when they came on the stage in ranck five at a time; and this they term κατὰ στοίχους Sometimes one of them

y Platone dag. 220.

z De Satyrica Poesi p. 131.

a Laertius loco citato.

b Lib. laudat.

c Author vitæ *Æschyl.*

them entred alone, which they say μόνος ἦρχε. Of interlocutors the ancients for the most part never had above three, but if a fourth spake, that they named παραχορίσημα; and if the *Chorus* supplyed the part of a fourth Actor, it was stiled παρακλώσιον. To speak of the several verses of Tragœdies, is *actum agere*: and I had rather speak of the action, than the art in composing, and yet not much, only this of their motions, termed στροφαὶ and ἀντιστροφαί. Στροφὴ, says the Scholiast of *Pindar*, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in Analogie to the motion of the universe τῆ ἀνατολῆ, from the *East* to the *West*; because *Homer* calls the *East* the right hand, the *West* the left: Contrary to the *Hebrews*, who term the *South Iamin*, which signifies the right hand, and the *North* they counted the left. Ἀντιστροφὴ was a turning from the *West* to the *East*, that is, from the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another posture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be so in Tragœdies, as in Lyrick Musick, which I believe) to express the immobility of the earth they stood still. They used *Epodes* for the most part at the end of the Acts, when the players avoided the stage. Thus much of Tragœdies; the authors of which were highly of old esteemed of; insomuch as after the dismal discomfeit of the *d Athenians* in *Sicilie*, they were relieved, who could repeat somewhat of *Euripides*. Nay, by a law made by *e Licurgus*, and established in *Athens*, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* had Statues erected in brass for the continuation of their memory. After Tragœdies had proceeded to perfection, Comœdies were with great applause taught, as *f Horace*,

Successit vetus his Comœdia, non sine multâ
Laude —

He says, *vetus Comœdia*, because a Comœdy was divided into three, or if you please so to speak, two sorts, the Old, and New. I said three sorts, because * the old was different from it self. The meaning is, that the old Comœdy, of which *Susarion* (by some named *Sannyrion*,) was Author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decency. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the smoaking Altars, sung *simplex carmen*, some naked verses, sayes *Donat*. Which by

d Plut. in fine vitæ Niciæ.
e Plut. in vit. x. Resp. Paus. Attiels. p. 18.
f De arte Poetica.
* Grammat. ἡ Παλαιὰ ἑαυτῆς διαφέρει.

by *Cratinus* was redreſſed; for he ordained three Actors, & mingled with his ſport profit, I mean for inſtruction. For under the *Democracy* it was lawfull to exagitate and propoſe for a laughing ſtock Captains and corrupt Judges, Citizens given to bribery, and ſuch as lead a diſolute life; naming the men upon the ſtage, and fitting the Actors with vizards bearig the ſhape of thoſe whom they intend to deride. But as the ſtate grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away, *Eupolis* being caſt into the ſea by thoſe againſt whom he wrote his Comœdie *Bapta*, and ſo drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not *a* ἐνομαζὶ Κωμῳδεῖν, to name any whom they wrote the Comœdie of. Of which *Horace*,

a Hermog. Partiti. p. 76.

Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi. Lex eſt accepta, Choruſque
Turpiter obticuit ſublato jure nocendi.

But when *Alexander* of *Macedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing leaſt any of their abuſive wit might diſpleaſe the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, and inſteed of abuſing ſtates & people they fell upon ancient Poems, or ſome part of Hiſtorie not truly written, perſonating the Actors ſo as to be moſt ridiculous; [b] ſometimes Scoffing on the ſtage at mean men, & this they termed Νέα Κωμῳδία. the new Comœdie. But afterward it was a piece of their *Athenian* policie to forbid that the people ſhould be toſſed on the ſtage, unleſs they would themſelves, ſaies *c Xenophon*, knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier ſort, πλούσιοι, ἀριστοκρατικοί. Some are of opinion that no player came on the ſtage until thirtie or fortie; I diſpute not the matter, ſure I am that *Sophocles* taught his firſt Tragœdie at twenty eight, in which doubtleſs himſelf came on the Stage. It being among the *Athenians* no diſgrace, as the *Romans* accounted it, to appear there. *d Æmilius Probus*. *In ſcenam verò prodire, & populo eſſe ſpectaculo nemini in eiſdem gentibus (Græcis) fuiſſe turpitudini e quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atque ab honeſtate remota, ponuntur.* The place where the people beheld theſe plaies & paſtimes was in the market place, where

b Donat. Generaliter ad omnes homines qui mediocribus fortunis agunt, &c.

c Athen. Rep.

d Præfatione ad vitas p. 2.

Meurſ. Att. Lect. l. 4. c. ult.

where they nayled ſcaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in ancient time they had no Theatre of ſtone, only of wood, which they call ἰκρία. f *Ariſtophanes.*

—Ἀπὸ τῆς ἰκρίων
Τοῦβλίτας ἁμᾶς —

f Theſmoph. pag. 787.

Theſe were built by ſome, who upon ſome conſideration of mony admitted any to a ſeat, named therefore g θεατρῶναι. Once it ſeems places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuſes. For ſtriving to get places, there roſe wrangling and brawles, and fights wherefore the *Attick* Senate ordained that each place ſhould be hired for two *oboli* (in the Conſulſhip of *Diaphantus*; a *Drachme*, ſay ſome, whence roſe the Proverb, Δεσχμὴ χαλάζης; becauſe at the eſtabliſhing of it, there fell hail) This mony they called θεωρικὸν, from θεωρεῖν: becauſe with it they did θέαν ἀγορᾶζειν, buy a ſeat to behold the ſhew exhibited. Now becauſe the poor people had not to give, & ſo were deprived of the ſpectacle, *Pericles* deſiring to be popular, made a law that they ſhould receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man, i For the right of exacting wch mony, they were to produce the authority of the *Lexiarchial Rolles*, as appears out of *Demoſthenes*. For the diſtribution of this were certain officers appointed named οἱ ἐπὶ θεωρικῶν. But afterwards *Apollodorus* ſtrove that in warr and publick neceſſity, theſe ſummes might be imployed in military affaires, but he endeavoured in vain: *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capital for any that ſhould attempt that which *Apollodorus* did; Which makes k *Demoſthenes* deſiſt, willing, yet not daring to perſwade to convert the mony to the uſe of the Armie. But ſee the folly of them, l For they ſpent as much on theſe ſports, as in obtaining the maſterie, & libertie of *Greece*. And the end was miſerable; for they became effœminate, and ſo put their necks under the *Macedonian* yoak. m *Juſtin* of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amiſſo, quem æmulari conſueverant in ſegnitiem torporemque reſoluti, non ut olim in claſſem exercitumque, ſed in dies feſtos, apparatuſque ludorum, reditus publicos effundunt: & cum actoribus nobiliſſimis, poetiſque theatra*

g Caſaub. in Theoph. p. 245.

h Cenobius.

i Cont. Leocha. p. 671. n. 50. 51.

k Olynth. 1. pag. 7.

l Lacon apud Plut. Mor. p. 421.

m Lib. 6. fine.

atra celebrant, frequentiùs ſcenam, quàm caſtra viſentes. Verſificatores Oratoreſque meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo antea milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum eſt. Quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut inter otia Græcorum, ſordidum & obſcurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theatre I will ſay little, as alſo of the ſtage: only that the places in the Theatre were not promiſcuous. For there was a diſtinction between the Senators and younger ſort. The Senators were named *n* Βουλευτικὸν, among which it is probable the Judges had the firſt place, as *o Pollux*. The ſeats for the youth were called Ἐφηβικόν. One part of the ſtage was *Orcheſtra*, in which was Θυμέλη, either a Tribunal, or an Altar. That upon all their ſtages there was an Altar ſacred to *Bacchus*, is apparent out of *Donat.* he ſaies it ſtood on the ſide of the ſtage, before the doors, *Pollux*: who names it Αλιτύς. There was moreover a Table called Εἰλώς, on which before the time of *Theſpis* ſome body aſcending in the Poets place, did anſwer the *Chorus*. *p Plutarch* thinks Θέατρον to be derived from Θεὸς; becauſe that before the building of Theaters the ancients embracing *Muſick* only for inſtitution of youth and praiſe of their Gods, ſung the commendation of good men, and honour of their Deities in Temples.

n Ariſtoph: Pag. 578.
o Lib. 4. c. 19. p. 202.
p De Muſica. p. 442.

LIBER TERTIVS.

CAP. I.

De Legum latoribus Atticis, Νόμοι, ἄγραφοι & ἔγγραφοι, Ψήφισμα. Προβούλευμα. De ſanciendis Legibus.

a Lib. 2. p. 27.

AS *Juſtin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the *Athenian* government paſſing by the perpetual and decennial Conſuls, and naming only the yearly: ſo hath he erred in the original of their

their Laws, making *Solon* the father of them. But it seems otherwise. For, as *b Gerardus* hath observed, *Theseus* gave Laws to the *Athenians*. And *c Plutarch* witnesseth, that when he congregated the *Attick People*, and constituted a *Democratie*, he reserved only to himself the government of war and custodie of the Laws. Δημοτρατίαν (φησὶν) ἀπὸ τῆς μόνον ἀρχὴν πολέμου καὶ νόμων φύλακα φαινομένου. Add to this, that before the knowledg of letters and writing, it was a custome among the ancients to sing their Laws, lest they might forget them, used in the daies of *d Aristotle* by the *Agathyrsi*, a people near to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the rules of Musick, for the true keeping of time, singing, and playing, are supposed to be called Νόμοι. Neither may it be thought otherwise, because all the notes of the *e Lydian, Hypolydian*, &c. *Dorick, Hypodorick*, &c. *Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Ionick*, &c songs, were distinguished by the Alphabet. yet *f Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from those bounds, which the Musicians of old prescribed, for the tuning of voices or instruments, least they might be confounded; and therefore he calls it εἰκόνα τάσεων. *g Idem.* Νόμοι γὰρ ἀρχαιοτάτοις, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τύχης πολλαὶ καὶ ἄτακτοι γινόμεναι διέφερον ἀλλήλων φθόγγοι. The *Greeks*, sayes *h Cicero*, think the cause of this word, *jus suum cuique tribuendo*, intimating νέμειν, which signifies to distribute, because the Law gives every man his due. Thus we see, that there were Laws of yore; let *i Justin* say, *Nullæ civitati leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur*: That the City was without Law, because the wills of Kings were Laws. In succeeding ages, and before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Laws; living about the three *k* hundred and ninth *Olympiad*. His Acts sayes *l Ælian*, were called Θεσμοί. Ἐκάλουν δ' ἐκεῖνοι θεσμούς. Now Θεσμὸς, by *m Ulpian* is interpreted νόμος παρέχων δόσιν καὶ πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τινά: A Law giving in precept how to make a Law. And yet *n Aristotle* calls them νόμους, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great severity. Which gave occasion to *o Herodotus* to say, that they were not the Laws of man, ἀλλὰ θηρίου; in a double sense

b Arist. Plut. pag. 67.
c In Theseo p. 8. l. 2.
d Problem. τμῆμ. ὀρ. κύ. fol. 189. b.
e Vide Alypium in Isagoge Musica.
f In libro de Musica.
g Loco citato p. 437.
h De leg. lib. 1. fol. 46. b.
i Loco laud.
k Clem. Alex. p. 226.
l Variæ hist. l. 8. c. 10.
m Argorat. cont. Lepti.
n Polit. 2. c. 10.
o Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 44.

of the word, which is also put for a Dragon. And *b Demades* that they were not written with black, but blood: For he punished every peccadillo almost with death. Those that were convicted of idleness, or stealing of pot-herbs, alike to the sacrilegious and man slayers. Wherefore they were made of none effect by *Solon*. For he abrogated all, except those which concerned murther, intituled ΘΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ. Him succeeded * *Solon*, a man so well tempered, and equal betwixt the Commons and the Peers, that he was beloved of both, having still a care, lest while he should side with one, he might displease the other. Whom, for his uprightness, *c Juvenal* stiles *Justum*, and for the care of the Republique, which *d Demosthenes* averres he had in all his Laws, *e Aristophanes* terms φιλόδημον, a lover of the people. *f Plato* brings him learning his Laws from a *Barbarian*: And *g Plutarch* tells us that he travelled afterwards into *Ægypt*. But it seems by *h Ammianus Marcellinus*, that in the making of his Laws he had the approbation and judgment of the *Ægyptian* Priests. *Et Solon adjutus sententiis Ægypti Sacerdotum, latis justo moderamine legibus, Romano quoque juri maximum addidit firmamentum.* *i Diodorus Siculus* relates two things brought from thence to the *Athenians* by him. First, that all the *Ægyptians* were compelled to bring to the Governours of the countries their names written, and by what means they sustained themselves; wherein if any were found false, or that lived by unjust again, he fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a custome among them, that payment should be made only with the goods of the debtor, and that the body should not suffer. For they thought the estate alone to be subject to the creditor, the body addicted to the Cities in which they lived. Neither is it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergo hazard for their countrey, should for usury be committed to Prison, or the Country be in jeopardy for the avarice of some one man. Which induced *Solon* to make the first decree, as *k Laertius*, and *l Plutarch* says of freeing the bodies, which, if there were not wherewithall to satisfie the craving loaner, were compelled to serve. He therefore cut off

b Plut. in Solone p. 63. l. 2.
* Demosth. p. 70.
* *His laws continued 100. years, layes* Plutarch *in strength.* In Solone pag. 66. *and afterwards by little and little decayed.*
Ælian. Var hist. l. 2. c. 22. *If any spoke against them, he had corporal punishment.*
c Sat. 10. vers. 274.
d Κατὰ Ἀνδρ. p. 390.
e pag. 190.
f In Timæo.
g In Solone. p. 66. l. 31.
h Lib. 31.
i Bibliotheca.

k Initio vitæ Solone.
l In Solone. p. 6. 2. l. 8.

off all use, *a* as some write, or else lessened the burthen of it; making it more moderate by his Law Σεισάχθεια: so called from σείειν, to shake off and ἄχθος, an heavy weight. Forgiving himself first, *c* as *Laertius*, seven talents; or, as *d Plutarch*, five. But this seems to have been done for the avoiding of the aspersion cast upon him as accessary to the injuries of some, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much mony with hope of never making restitution. *e Casaubon* is conceited, that this was not his first exploit, but long after he had sate at the Stern of the Weale-publick. Yet it seems probable; There being no more compendious way to make a man popular, than to give liberty to the common people. Which he, to bring in an innovation of Laws, did willingly invent; and they afterwards lovingly accepted. For in testimony of their approbation, they kept a Festival named *f* Σεισάχθεια. Here likewise you may observe the ancient flattery of the *Athenians* towards their own vices, putting gilded names on those things, which themselves were ashamed of, calling *g* πόρνας, ἑταίρας. φόρυς, συντάξεις. φυλακὰς φυγὰς δὲ πολίαν, Δημοκρατίαν οἰκουμένην, as our blades name drunkennesse, good fellowship, whores, shesinners, and niggardise, thriftinesse; springing from this root of *Solons*, who called χεῖρον ἀπτόωλιν, Σεισάχθειαν. *h* To these Laws two ends were proposed, mutuall commerce, and direction of behaviour towards the state. *i* To curb wickednes, and unjustice, and to punish offenders that they might be bettered. And although they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we fitly call them the *Athenian* Civil Law. Each City, as *k Justinian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam si quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare jus civile Athenienſium, non erraverit.* They were ingraven in Tables of wood, called *l* ἄξονες, triangular, if we may believe the *m* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, who quotes *Aristotle* and *Apollodorus*, witnessing that they were called κύρβεις also περὶ τὴν καταγραφὴν οὕτω καλούμενοι, from the elevation. *n* Some are of opinion that the Rites perraining to the Gods and their worship were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Laws belonging to

a Plut. p. 62.
b Androtio.
c Loco laud.
d Pag. 62. fifteen says Polyzetus Rhodius.
e In Laert. p. 14.
f Plut. p. 62. l. 43.
g Plutarch. loco laudato.
h Demosth. p. 477.
i Idem p. 484.
k Institut. l. 1. Tit. 2. Sed jus quidem civile, ex unaquaque civitate appellatur, veluti Athenienſium.
l Sch. Apollo. Rho. Arga 4.
m In Avibus p. 604.

men in the *Axones*. *Apollodorus* ſayes, that all decrees are called *Cyrbes*, becauſe they were written in ſtone, and ſo ſet up, *a* which from their ſtanding, were termed σῆλαι. I know that decrees, merits, praiſe and diſpraiſe too, were written in ſtone: Whence *b* λόγος σηλιτευτικὸς may be put for a Treatiſe tending to a mans diſgrace. But this by the way. Theſe Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, tranſlated afterwards to the *Prytaneum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the dayes of *c Plutarch*, ſome reliques of them were to be ſeen. The *Autographon* or copy written with his own hand was not removed, but thoſe that were tranſcribed by them. Becauſe in matters of doubt and controverſie they might have recourſe unto them. *For the diſtinction of which, ſome think that ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος is uſed in *Demoſthenes* for that in the *Prytaneum* Others for the Law in the lower part of the Table; but to me it ſeems improbable, for then the number of the Table ought to be cited; and indeed, one Table ſometimes could not contain a Law. For we read in *d Plutarch*, that the eighth Law was cut in the thirteenth Table. I am not averſe from the gueſs of *Petitus*, who ſuppoſes the Orator to mean the Law which afterwards he quotes; nor ignorant of the Opinion of ſome, who think that it is to be underſtood of the under line. For the Laws being written βουστροφηδὸν, *converſo ſive retrogrado literarum ordine*, ſaies *Sylburgius*; which *f Pauſanias* explains, ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς ἐπὶ λαιὰν, from the right hand to the left, *g* or more ſignificantly, Ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τῆς ἀρότου ἐπιφέρει ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν βοῶν ἕλκεται ἐλαία ἐπὶ δεξιὰ λέγω. When the ſecond verſe begins at the end of the former, as in the race which they call *Dianlus*, or if I ſhall ſpeak neareſt to the word, as husbandmen turn their Oxen when they plough, as for example.

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ- See thoſe that have written of di-
ΥΘΗΩΥΧ verſe wayes of writing.

They therefore take the lower, that is turned ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος. After this manner were the Laws written, and doubtleſs there were ſome cuſtomes as ſtrong as Laws. For although the *Lacedemonians* governed by tradition of cuſtome, and the *Athenians* by written ſtatutes, as *h Joſephus*; yet ſurely had their

a Ἀπὸ στήσεως.

b Vide Nonnum in Nyz. σηλιτ. α.

c In Solone p. 66.

* Pollux. l. 8. p. 408.

d Solone p. 63. l. 37.

e In Pauſaniam p. 426.

f In Eliacis p. 174.

g Eodem lib. p. 165.

h Contra Apionem. Vide Juſtiniani. Juſt. l. 1. tit. 2.

their customes great force, insomuch as *i Aristophanes* uses νόμος for δίκη — Αἰχρὰ νόμου κρατύνεται. *a Scholiast.* νόμων τῶν ἀγράφων τῶν γεγενημένων ἐπὶ πᾶσι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων. So did the *b Grecks* divide their Laws into γεγραμμένους καὶ ἀγράφους, written and unwritten. The unwritten, *sine scripto jus venit, quod usus approbavit*, use. The *c* Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus, Νόμος ἐστὶν ἄγραφος σαφήνεια· γραπτὸν δὲ ἄγραφον νόμος. A Law is a written custome, and a custome an unwritten law. Besides these there were decrees, which they termed ψηφίσματα, *plebiscita*, a word used by *d Cicero*, nothing different, ψηφισμάτων ἰσχὺν διαφέρειν οὐ νόμου. *e Demosthenes*, who means in vertue and power. For they differ much: *f* A Law maintains justice once found, common for ever. A *Plebiscitum* follows the necessity of the time, it differs in events: it directs not warlick affairs, but is applyed unto the occasion of arms, and as laws can be abrogated, so decrees changed. And here ought we to note, *g* that no decree is greater than a law. Of decrees there were two sorts; *h* τῆς Βουλῆς ψηφίσματα, such as the Senate by it self established, which were but of twelve months continuance; to the confirming of which, the people were not convocated, or their consent required, vermedi προβουλεύματα, which *Demosthenes* proves to be ἀνύσεα. *Ulpian.* ἰσχὺν ἐπιταγῆς. Like to the edicts of the Roman Prætors which lasted but a year. *k Cicero.* *Qui plurimum tribuunt edicto, Prætoris edictum legem annuam esse dicunt.* In other decrees the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the giving of the authority unto them, which endured in force a longer time *l* ἢ ὅσον τὸ δῆμον γενέσθαι, καὶ πλείονα μῆνα χρόνον. And therefore we may easily know a *probuleuma*. Ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς only gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma* from a *decree* of the peoples confirming by this observation. Ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, in the beginning of a decree, shews it to be ψήφισμα περὶ δήμου καὶ βουλῆς καλλίβαντον. The Senate alwaies sate in consultation about that which was to be enacted, whether any damage might accrew to the State by it or no; the Law commanding that no decree should go forth without deliberation. *m* Παρεβάλλοντο ψήφισμα μὴ εἰσφέρειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον. Which done

i In Avibus pag. 576.
a Pag. 597.
b Vide Justinianum.
c In Alacem Locarium.
d In Orat. pro Flacco.
e Cont. Lept. p. 296.
f Aristides. Tom. 2. p. 30.
g Demosth. p. 416.
h Demosth. καὶ Aeschines. p.
418.
k In Verr. 1.
l Ulpian loco laudato.
m Vlp. in Arg. Orat. And. p. 181. Vide Dem. p. 182. n. 10. v. 1. Plut. Solone. pag. 63. l. 31.

done the *Prytanes* took certain tables and wrote on them *Such or such a day about such a time, there should be an assembly to consult of these and these affairs*: and this they called *a* προγεγραμμα. When then they were assembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, stood: if not, decayed. It was forbidden that any should raze out a Decree of any Table. And he was brought in question of life, who should presume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now because future time might haply perceive some inconveniencies to arise by oversight in the Law-giver, and that as abuses should happen, which in his daies were not discerned; so there would be a necessity of making new statutes: It was ordained therefore that every year there should be ἐπιχειροτονία νόμων; which *b Ulpian* expounds διάσκεψις, εἰ τι δεῖ θεσθαι περὶ τῶν νόμων. A consideration of what ought to be done concerning the Laws. *c* The manner was thus. Every eleventh day of *July* in the assembly, after the Cryer had made his Prayers, as the fashion was, & shall anon be spoken of, the Laws were read over in order. First those which concerned their Senate, next their weal publick, and thirdly the nine *Archons*; & afterwards the other Magistrates. Then was it demanded if there were Laws enough for the Senate, and so for the Common-weal, &c. If any of the Laws in force were to be abrogated, is was adjourned until the last of the three daies of the three *Convocations*; on which the *Prytanes*, appointed for the reviving and reciting of the Laws, were to take the matter in hand. The *Proedri* chief of the Assembly, were to *d* acquaint them with it. Five men at the first meeting, were chosen out of all the *Athenians*, who should patronize the Law to be abolished; and according to the Judgement of the *Nomothetæ*, chosen out of the Council of five hundred, was the business carried; that the Laws should be of none effect, or full strength. Whosoever would bring in a new Law, was to write it on a Table εἰς λευκωμα, *Demosth.* the form thereof, and set it up at the Statues of the *Heroes* before spoken of, *f* ἐφ' οὗ ἔστηκεν, which standing in a place conspicuous, that some certain daies

a Sch. in Naz. syn. *a.* pag. 55. vid. Ulp. in Dem. p. 240.

b Demosth. pag. 445.
c Vid. Dem. loco cit.

d χρηματίζειν Demosth. Vlp. *expounds* καταβάλλειν. *to report.*

e Cont. Timocr. p. 446.
f Demosth. p. 297.

daies before the Sessions, any Citizen might read what was to be handled, and if any so pleased, he might at the proposal of the Law, declare his mind either for or against it, as at the preferring of *a Bill in our high Court of Parliament*; where it is not denyed any *Burges*, or *Knight* of a shire, to speak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either for any whole Bill, or some part thereof, or in opposition to it, or some one clause. Provided likewise that he who attempted to enact a new Statute, should take care for the disanulling of the old, that might contradict it; otherwise he came within the compass of παρανομίων γραφὴ, a writ of *Transgression of the Laws*: which was of two sorts. First, when time is not observed in writing them, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ὠφελιμώτατον γράφειν. Next when one is made that's adverse to a former. And if it so hapned that any perswaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale-publick, he might be questioned within a *b* years space; *c* but if the time was expired, he could not. *d* Nay they slew *Eudemus*, a *Cydathenian*, for bringing in a Law they liked not; scarce different in that one example from the *Locri*; among whom he that would propose a Law should do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his requests pleased not, he straightway powred out his soul under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators which are called δημαγωγοὶ, because they lead the people with their Rhetorick and flattery, wrote Laws and decrees, as we learn out of *Demosthenes*, and therefore are they deciphered by *g Athenæus*, οἱ λέγοντες τὰ ψηφίσματα γεγραφότες.

a Vlp. in Dem. p. 297.

b Dem. Orat. Arg. con. Lep.

c Dem. p. 419.

d Id. p. 468.

e Gellius l. 3. c. 13. Is. Callistratus Athenis Orator fuit, quos illi. δημαγωγὸς appellant. Livie Dec. 4. of Athens ubi Oratio plurimum pollet favore multitudinis alitur. Vlpian. δημαγωγὸς ἀ δήμου ἄρχων.

f Pag. 468. n. 225.

g Dipnos. l. 12.

CAP. II.

De Comitiis. Κυρία & Συγχωρητὸς Ἐκκλησία, &c.

THE Assemblies were called by the *Prytanes* four times in five and thirty dayes. *f* In the first they confirmed the Magistrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwise they put them out: They heard publick causes, looked into confiscate goods, and possessions left

f Pollux. l. 8. c. 9. Sect. 7. pag. 398.

leſt by inheritance. In the ſecond, any one with leave might freely ſpeak of private and publick affaires. In the third they gave audience to Ambaſſadors, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytanes*. In the fourth, they treated of holy things, ſuch as belonged to their Gods & worſhip of them. The firſt meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytanea*; the ſecond the twentieth; the third the thirtieth; the fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference between the *g* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, and *Ulpian*, in the daies on which they came together; one making the firſt day of the Month, to be the day on which the firſt Aſſembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytanea*, which ſeems trueſt. And whereas they both write that every Month there were three lawful aſſemblies to wit, on the firſt, tenth, or thirteenth, or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth; we are not ſo to reckon them, but according to the *Prytanea*, it being the *Prytanes* charge to congregate the people. They ſeem to have been called Κυρίαι Ἐκκλησίαι because in them they did κύρια ψηφίσασθαι, eſtabliſh decrees, as the *a* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*. Other aſſemblies there were which are termed *b* σύγκλητοι; when war, or any ſudden accident troubled the State, then the people were called together over & above thoſe four times in a *Prytanea*. They are ſtyled σύγκλητοι, becauſe the people of their own accord met on the other daies; but when they would have a Convocation ſome went about the City and called them. There is likewiſe *c* κατακλησία, when they were ſummoned out of the fields to go to the Aſſembly. It ſeems to me that the Crier in the ſtreets on their lawful aſſemblies gave ſome token when they ſhould haſten; and ſo much *d Ariſtophanes* witneſſes, bringing in the women ſpeaking that it is high time to be ſtirring, becauſe the Cryer δὶς ἤδη κεκόκκυκεν, had cryed the ſecond time. And indeed need was there of ſome warning, and compulſion too, for ſo ſlow were they in coming to Aſſemblies, that the *Logiſtæ* were fain to thong them to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Ariſtophanes* on theſe words, Τὰς δ' ἰσχάδας ὁ Λεωχάρης. Sometimes they took a rope, and dying it with red earth, they ſent two ſlaves into the market place,

g In Achar. pag. 371.
b In Dem. p. 445.
a In Acharn.
b Ulp. & Sch. Ariſt. loc. laud.
c Pol. p. 405.
d In concionantib. pag. 725.
e In Achar. p. 406.

place, who should one on the one side of the way & the other of the opposite, pursue the people, and to whose chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certain piece of money. Hence in the *f* Comœdian — Κάτω κ᾽ ἄνω τὸν ὄχλον εἰσὶν τὸ μιλτωμένον. Up and down they shun the cord stained with Vermilion. And again — ἁμίλτῳ δ᾽ Ζεὺς εἴλατε πίλον παρὶξ ἂν ἦν ὀστέρμων κύκλῳ. *Jupiter*, the red earth which flew about made laughter. *g* Sometimes would they take hurdles, and barracado all the streets except those that led to the *Ecclesia* Sometimes take away all their saleable wares which they brought into the Market, lest people intent on their traffique should absent themselves from the Assemblies. When they had met, oft-times the company would be dismissed at some prodigious signe; as thunder, lightning, tempest, and the like, which they called *h* Διοσημεία: *i* and earthquakes, or other occasions, deferring the Assemblies meeting, until the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to sit, one man Sacrificed; which rites were called *a* Εἰσιτήρια, because they were done at the *entry of the Councel*, *b Ulpian.* ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰσιόντος τοῦ βουλῆς ὁ τὰς θυσίας ποιούμενος. I will not justly say that it was the purification made with a young pig, before the bench was sate, and yet I may presume to averre it; the Grammarian that interprets *c Aristophanes* witnessing that immediatly preceding the Sessions this custome was observed by one, whom they named καθαρχος, from καθαίρω, τὸ καθαίρειν, which signifies cleansing, because by that he purged the Assembly, Theatre, and congress of the people. After they were sate, *d* the Cryer did pray for the good of the people, *e* and cursed those who should offer to deceive the Senate or people. After this, he speaks with a *lewd* voice *f* τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; Who will make a Speech? whereupon one of the *g* Elders arose who gave his verdict: It being not permitted, to any to utter his opinion, before the reverend hoary head had spent his judgment. Whence by *h Demosthenes* they are stiled οἱ εἰωθότες, those that were wont to orate. After they had finished their saying, others had leave to declare themselves. Neither must we omit the fashion they had

f Aristoph. Achar. p. 371

g Schol. Arist. loco laudato.

h Vide Arist. p. 379.
i Plut. p. 326. l. 7. & 384 l. 34.

a Demosth. Ολυνθ. 2. p. 241.
b Vide & Ulpian p. 351.

c In Concion. p. 728. A.

d Demosth. Ολυνθ. 2. p. 213.
e Id. p. 418.
f Alcidamas Aristoph. p. 372. Diod. Sic. l. 15.
g Demosth. p. 29 Æschines contra Ctes. initio.
h Philip. 2.

bad to exclude all private men from their Assemblies, sometimes when the Senate alone sate, or the *Areopagitical* counsel; sometimes to debar all servants, strangers, and men deprived of their liberties from their convents, which at other times they admitted, and then was it called *i* πανδημον εκκλησιον, an open Theatre to all comers. The place of meeting was called Πνυξ, *Pnyx*, ἀπὸ τῆς πυκνὸς ἐνταῦθα ἀθροίσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων; from the frequent concourse of people there. It stood on a rock and therefore by *Aristophanes* is called πέτρα. 345 Sch. ὀρεινὴ δῆλον. There was a stipend for them that came to the Assemblies, as you may see in *Demosth. Contra Timoc.* And ὅπως βεβαίως ἐκκλησιάσωσιν. Because they might be at leasure without damage. *Arist. Pol.* 1. *c* 13. They assembled also in *Piræus*, *Ulp. in dem.*

i Plut. p. 552. L. 11. 17.

CAP. III. SECT. I.

De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de Senatu Πεντακοσίων.

WHen the mutiny between the Faction of *Megacles* and *Cylo* disturbed the *Attick* Commonwealth, *Solon* perswaded the people that those, whom for their audacity in drawing away the suppliants from the Altars, they named ἐναγεῖς, should undergoe judgement; there were chosen *k* three hundred men ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων, according to their *worth* to sit upon the case. But these were not a perpetual judicatory. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the usury money, then was the grand Councel ordained, out of every Tribe, (which were then but four) were an hundred chosen, who by their advice should direct the people in those things which were to be handled, lest any thing should be inducted, or proposed to the Assembly without due consideration. Who from their office in a *Democracy* *m* *Aristotle* sayes, are more properly called προβουλοι, but where the Root rules, Βουλή. But when *Clisthenes*, (who by *Plutarch* is termed ὁ καταλύσας τὴν πολιτείαν) had augmented the number of the Tribes

k Plut. Solone pag. 60. l. 31.

m Polit l. 6. c. 8.

Tribes from four to ten, eighty six years after *Solon*'s Laws were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled ten times, make up the summe. This Councel by *Aristotle* is described ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων. *The Mistress of all the rest*, and I am not of opinion that ἡ ἄνω Βουλὴ in *a Plutarch* is to be understood of the *Areopagus*, as if that were aboue the Senate, but as instituted first by *Solon*, and so related by the Author. And yet I know *b* one writes, *Tam dignitate, fama, quàm officio, secundum post Areopagitas locum obtinuere.* To this Councel none was chosen under thirty years of age, which time is stiled Βουλὴ ἡλικία by *c Libanius*. And doubtless *d Plutarch* justifies it, speaking that *Demosthenes* wrote his Oration against *Androtion, Timocrates, Aristocrates*, ὅπου τῆς πολιτείας ἀφεστηκὼς ἦν, when he had not attained to the managing of state business, because he wanted two or three of thirty years. Agreeing to this is *e Junius*, who sayes that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very Wise, to Magistracy or Councel. Nay the *f* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* tells us, that green heads were not permitted to speak publickly. The Law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as some say (which is truest) thirty, on these words.

Κρίνω παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς τῶν Ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐξῆν πω μοι τεκεῖν.

Which to be otherwise understood by some, is not hidden from me. They were called likewise Ἡλιασταί, as well as Ἡλιαστικοί, and their Tribunal Ἡλιαία, from the word *g* ἁλίζειν, which signifies to throng together, because the people were frequent there. But the more probable reason is, *h* ὅτι τὸ δικαστήριον τοῦτο ἦν ὑπαίθριον καὶ πρὸς ἥλιον ἐκεῖ ἅπαντα ἀφεστήκεσαν, because the place was open and exposed to the Sun. And in respect of this *i Aristophanes* makes that cold conceit branded by *Didymus*, Εἰς τὴν ἑωθινὴν ἡλίασιν σοι ἥκειν. *In the morning thou shalt* ἁλίζεσθαι *in the Sun shine.* At their admission they had this Oath given them. *k* Ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, *&c. I will give Sentence according to the Laws and Decrees of the People of Athens, and Councel of five hundred, I will not consent to be a Tyrant, or bring in an Oligarchy: Neither shall my approbation*

a In Solon. p. 63.

b Possardus: *false, for* Pausanias *calls it* μαζίσιον. in Att. p. 27. l. 15.

c In Argorat. cont. Androt.

d Vit. decem Rhet. p. 378.

e Stobæus serm. 112.

f In nub. p. 157.

g Vlp. in Dem. p. 445.

h Vlp. loc. laud. & Aristoph. Sc. pag. 486.

i Pag. 486.

k Dem Orat. cont. Tim.

to to any that shall dissolve the Democracy of Athens *by speech or Decree. I will not cut off private use, or suffer any division of the Athenian Land or Houses. I will not bring back exil'd Men, or those that are condemned. I will not thrust out of the City any innocent, against the Laws, and Statutes of the Athenians, and Senate of five hundred; neither by my self, or suffer any other. I will not create a Magistrate, who hath not given an account of his former Office, whether the nine Archons, or Agents for the holy things, or they, who at the same day are chosen with the nine Archons by lot, Ambassadors and Assistants. Neither shall the same Man bear the same Office twice, or two in one Year. I will not take Gifts for Judgment, neither my self or others for me, or others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger than thirty. I will hear both Parties, the Accuser and Defendant alike. I will pass Judgment aright on the thing prosecuted. I swear by* Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres. * There is also another Oath which they took; some Clauses whereof, we have left in Record. *To ratifie the Laws of* Solon. Plutarch *in* Solone, *pag.* 62. *To give Counsel for the best of the People. To advise according to the Laws. I will not bind any Athenian who shall give three sureties of the same Revenues, unless for Treason, or he conspire the subversion of State popular, or buy Custome, or be engaged, or gather publick Money and not pay it. I will sit in that order which lot shall direct me to, I will not permit any unless banished, to be accused or imprisoned for what is past.* This last was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when *Terasybulus* gave them to Oath μὴ μνησικακήσειν, not to remember ancient wrongs, wch they call ἀμνηστία. The Authority of this Councel was great, for it handled causes of War, Tributes, making of Laws, civil businesses & events, affairs of Confederates, collections of Mony, performance of sacred Rites, accounts of Offices discharged, appointing Keepers for Prisoners and *Procuratio* of Orphans, as *Xenophon*: Resembling our Court of Parliament in *England*, by whose consent all Laws are abrogated, new made, right and possessions of private men changed; forms of Religion established, Subsidies, Tails, Taxes, and impositions appointed; Weights & Measures altered.

* If I transgress any of these, let me and my house perish: but if I faithfully keep them according to my oath, let us be happy and prosperous. Dem. p. 470.

a Vid. Xeno. in Ἑλλην. Cic. init. Phil. 1. Velleium Paterculum. l. 2. p. 84. Arist. Sch. in Ach. Æsch. cont. Ctesip. b Athen. pag. 407. See Sir. Tho. Smith in the Commonwealth of England.

altered. *&c.* As not unlicke also the *Venetian Gran Consiglio*, or Senate of which the *Contarene*. d *Tutta la cura del Governo della Republica appertiene al Senato, &c.* The whole manner of the Common wealths Government belongeth to the Senate. That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and inviolable. By their Authority and Rule is Peace confirmed and War denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Common wealth at their appointment collected & gathered in, and likewise lay'd out again and defrayed, *&c.* In a word I may say of the Five hundred, as *Budæus* of the Parliament of *France*: *Amplissimam eam curiam, causarumque omne genus disceptatricem justam ac legitimam esse*, that that Court was most ample, and justly, and equally decided all sort of Controversies whatsoever. *b* To their charge was committed the making of new Ships, for which at the years end they were to be rewarded by the People. To this alludes *c Aristophanes*. Πολλαπὸ τὸ ἦν & ΕΥ. Ἦν αἱ τειήρεις αἰκάλῃ. ΕΠ. Μῶν Ηλιαστὴς — *d* without their consent could the people do naught, as indeed they made not any thing *Sanctum* against the Peoples wills. Hence in *e Demosthenes*, Ψ Βυλὴ ποιήσαντ & τὸ δῆμα κυρία. In testimony of their preheminence are they termed *f* Κύριοι ψήφου. and οἱ ἀνὰ κράτος. The Lords of Sentence. In time of Warr they would send Commissions to their Captains, as they thought requisite. *h* Such as in the battle between the *Lacedæmonians* and their Country men in *Tanagra*, where fearing lest *Cimon*, banished by *Ostracisme*, should betray them to the *Laconians*, they sent to the Commanders not to entertain him in the Army. This honour was not during term of life, but every year changed. *Apostolius*. ἢ ὡς ἐξ πενταχοσίων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν κληρωμένη Βυλὴ ἦν. Which *Anonymus in Arg. Orat. contra Androt.* expresses by κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδέχετο. The manner of choosing them is this *i* The chief of every Tribe on an appointed day before the beginning of the Month *Hecatombæon*, brought the names of all their Tribe that was capable of this dignitie, and cast them written into a vessel, and into another they put an hundred white beans, and all the rest black; Then drawing out

d *As* Francchirio Anditimi *hath translated it.* lib. 3. fol. 34. b.

a In Pandect. Ptio. p. 298.

b Dem. p. 385.

c Arid. p. 546.

d Sch. Arist. P. 93.

e Pag. 234.

f Demosth. mei Ἀλλά.

g Idem χατ Μειδίε.

h Plut. in Cimone. p. 356. l. 50.

i Verbo Emmius in Descript. Reip. Athen.

out a Name, and then a Bean, to whose chance the white Bean fell to be extracted with his Name, was designed Senator. This they did when they had but four Tribes, and so four hundred Senators. But when they had tenn Tribes, there could be but fifty white Beans, to the making up of the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the election observed by the *k Venetians* upon the fourth day of *Decemb.* when the names of all the young men that have not by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor passed 25 years old, are put into a pot, and carryed unto the Prince, and there the same set before the Councellors, with whom there is an other pot, wherein are round balls equall with the number of the names written with the first, every one having his marks; the fift part of these balls is guilded with gold, the rest with silver. The Prince taketh out of the first pot the ball, which if it be of the golden sort, the young man whose name is drawn is presently admitted to publick authority; they to whom the silver chance, lose it for that time, expecting it the ensuing year; unless in the mean space they accomplish twenty five, at which age all the young Noble men partake of the Cities liberties. So every year the fift part of the yongsters is chosen to give voice with the other Citizens. The use in choosing I deem the same, and shall untill I find authentick Writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Clisthenes* according to their Tribes, so by his successors. For when they added two, the number was encreased an hundred, by reason of the Tribes *Antigonis* & *Demetrias*; after named *Attalis* & *Ptolemais*, in honour to the Kings of that name which were Benefactors to the State; *a* ὄντων δὲ τῶν βουλευτῶν πεντακοσίων ἦσαν, ἑξακοσίων ἐπέκεινα; *b* Out of these were their Judges chosen; but such as were above threescore years old. For although Juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged under that age. εἰσήρχοντο μὲν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν. To these was any business referred, of which the Senate and people were in suspense what to determine *c* Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ δῆμον ὅταν κρῖναι μέλλωσι πρᾶγμ' ὑποπεσόν, εἰσήκουσι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους τοῖς δικαίοις παραδοῦναι. When the

k Contaren. l. 1. fol. 11. b.

a Stephanus περὶ πόλ.
b Arist. Sch. p. 37.

c In Vespis. p. 471.

the Council & People are in doubt how to judge a great matter, they decree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges. And no marvel. For the office of a Judge is πλέον κρίνειν, prerogative in sentence, saies *d Aristotle*; that is, to state those Questions which the Law hath not decided. The order of their giving sentence before the third year of the ninety second Olympiad I know not. Afterwards they sate by turn in their own Tribes, every one as his lot fell. For there being formerly ten Tribes in *Athens*, they chose out of each five men, & to wch one of them the chance happened, he sate Judge. I cannot say that the manner of Election was like that of the *e Syracusans* concerning the priest of *Jupiter*, who taking the names of so many as were nominated, and casting them into a pot, created him whose name should be first drawn, of that sacred Function. But of our own must I speak. *f* When then they were appointed, they met every of them bringing with him a Table and a Wand, on wch was written a Letter that did betoken some Judicatory. (For there being 10 Tribunals every one of them was noted with a read Letter, Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, &c. to Κ, over the door) time calling them to sit, they drew lots, and he to whom Α, was taken out, sate in the Count noted with Α, and Β with Β, and so to Κ. This done, they shewed their lot to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them their Wand and Table. This they did least any should rashly attempt to sit, & pervert Justice. I know not whether I may better call that Rod of Authority a wand or staff: because that *g* Βακτηρία καὶ σκῆπτρα, περὶ οὗ τὸν ἢ τετράβολον, was a Proverb used in derision of the Judges. *h* This staff at the dayes end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages. But the *a* Scholiast teaches us otherwayes, saying that the *Demagogi* paid them, it being manifest out of *Cleon's* words the Orator; Ὦ γέροντες Ἡλιασταί, μεθ' ἡμέρας τριωβόλου, Οὓς ἐγὼ σώσω *Judges which I feed*. Their pay was not alwaies the same ἐγίγνετο, *b* saies the Interpreter of *Aristophanes*. First, they had *obolum*, which *Calistratus*, surnamed *Parnytes*, was Author of. Hence the Proverb *c* Ὀβολὸν ὡς Καλλίστρατος. Afterwards it was augmented by *Callicrates*, and from him grew grew

d Pol. l. 3. c. 13. ὅτι δὲ ὁ δῆμος οὐ δύναται διοικεῖν.

e Cic in Verrem Act. 3.

f Aristoph. πλ. p. 30.

g Suidas proverb.

h Sch. Arist. πλ. 30.

a In Equites. pag. 301.

b In Nubes pag. 174.

c Appendix Vaticana.

d Zenobius.

the word ἐστὶ τὰ Καλλιχόρου, it may be for a pretty ſumme of mony. Nay it changed, for now I read of ὀβολὸς Ἡλιαστικὸς one, & anon τριώβολον three a *e Drachm*, or two And therefore may we conclude that it was ſometime more, ſometimes leſs. Thus having ſpoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their caſes of Law, in which I ſhall add.

e Sch. Ariſt. pag. 487.

When any bad received wrong in *Athens*, it was their cuſtom to make their caſes known to a Magiſtrate, whoſe office it was to report the Judicatory. And this they did by a Table in which it was written, Κατηγορῶ τοῦδε ὃς προκαλεῖται τὸν δεῖνα ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον. *I accuſe H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceeding who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magiſtrate before the accuſation, to which *g Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tres viros veſtraque ibi nomina Faxo erunt*-when this note was given up, the Magiſtrate asked the Plaintiff, whether he had witneſſes and would proſecute the matter; who anſwering that he intended it, had thereupon authority to ſummon the Defendant to his appearance; and this he did either by himſelf or other, called therefore κλητὴρ for κλῆτις is ἡ εἰς τὰς δίκας εἴσαγωγὴ, a bringing into ſuit, καλοῦνται γὰρ εἰς δικαστήρια. The word ſignifies a witneſs alſo. For when they warned any to the Tribunal, they bad any that ſtood by to teſtifie that they had admoniſhed them, οἱ κλητῆρες ἢ οἱ καλοῦντες εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια πάντας σημαίνει ἢ ἡ λέξις ἢ ἡ μάρτυρες. You may uſe κλητὴρ for an Apparator, Serjeant, Bayliff, or the like. Sometimes they would run ſtreight to the Court, as it were headlong, in *k Demoſthenes* his phraſe, ſometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may ſee out of *l Ariſtophanes*. Καὶ δ' εἵλκυσεν αὐτὸν-- But if the party could put in two ἀξιόχρεως, ſufficient to Bail, he was diſmiſſed. Hence in the *m* Comœdian. Ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς σοι κομιοῦμαι δύο Ἀξιόχρεως. *I will procure thee a couple of able Sureties.* Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a Week or more, after the *vocationem in jus*; at which time if the Defendant were not perſonally at the Judgment-ſeat, he came within compaſs of Ἐρήμης, a Writ of

f Vlp. in Dem. p. 343

g Aſinaria Act. 1. p. 54.

Sch. Ariſt. 190.

i Sch. Ariſt. p. 442.

k Ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἕλκειν. p. 596. n. 17.

l In Veſpis p. 487.

m Ariſt. Concio. p. 755.

of *Eremodicium*, refusal to come in and answer. Which was avoided by suing for a μὴ ἔνδοξα in tenne dayes after. For when the party to defend was absent, he was condemned *indicta causa*, so *a Budæus* expounds ἔξ ἐρήμου καταδικάζειν, by this therefore the case was renewed, and stood as at the first; the sentence that before past, being made of no force; and for this was it termed μὴ ἔνδοξα, δόξαν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἔχειν δοκοῦντα· ἐν καιρῷ δὲ ὕστερον οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἦν, *because in the beginning it seemed to carry some power, but at last was nothing.* The busines that made a new, the party that was cast by an ἔρημον, after that he had obtained a μὴ ἔνδοξον, was *c* within two Months to set the Law on foot, which they term ἀντιλαχεῖν ἀγῶνος, or else the sentence given before was ratified. Whosoever should offer to call any man to the Court, unless upon good grounds, was liable to ἀδικίων δίκη, a Writ of Molestation for a false cause. Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libel; which held the contents of his action, and the summe of the Defendants answer. This the Greeks call *d* Ἀντιγραφὰς, *Antigraphes.* Though I know also, that all cases in Law were termed *e* πράγματα, κρίσεις. They took this course because the Defendant might know what to answer. And because it was ordinary in *Athens* for knaves to accuse out of envy, which is συκοφαντία, they made a *f* Law, that whosoever accused, and had not the fifth part of the voices, should be fined a thousand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objection was also punished in the purse a certain summe; *g* which if he paid not at the constituted time, was fourfold; and if his ability reached not so far, he suffered imprisonment. At the presenting of the *Antigraphe*, testimonies were also delivered (formes of which you shall often meet with in *h Demosthenes*) and a copy of an Oath which the Suiter gave, in these words, Ταληθῆ καταγνώσομαι, that he would justly accuse. Ταληθῆ ἀπολογήσομαι, that he would according to Truth make his Apology: and this they name καὶ τοῦτο εἰδώς. These writings were cast into a certain coffer, forth coming as occasion should require: All which *i Aristophanes* in one verse comprehends. Ἀντωμοσίαι τ' ἀγορὰ τ' ἀπόκλησις τ' ῥητορείας συκοφάντων.

a In priorib. & Post. No. ad Pand.

b Vlp. in Dem. pag. 343.

c Pollux. l. 8. p. 350.

d You have a form of this in Demosth. d. 628.

e Arist. Nub. p. 154. v. Sch.

f Demosth. p. 716. n. 7.

g Arist. Schol. ver. 170.

h Vnum contra Stephan. ↓δ. α. p. 622. allud p. 624. 629.

i Schol. Arist. Vesp. 505.

k In Vesp. p. 467. 505.

l In Vesp. p. 504.

They joyned or put together oaths, citations, & testimonies, I so interpret it against the Scholiasts mind, who will have παρακλήσεις to be Exhortations given to the Plantiff and Defendant to come to composition. But I know that *m* παρακαλεῖσθαι, is κατηγορεῖν, εἰσάγειν, to accuse, *n* εἰς δικαστήριον, *in jus vocare*, and παρακλητὰς, διὰ μαρτύρων ἐπικαλουμένους. The chest or coffer was called ἰχθύς; and of this are the words of the Greek Orators to be understood *o* εἰς ἰχθὺν βάλλειν. *p Theophrastus* of a mad man that would *entangle* himself in any thing, ἔχων ἰχθὺν εἰς τὴν παρακλῆσιν, ἢ ὁρμαθὸς γεγραμμένων εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. Having an *Echinus* in his lappe, and a bundle of libels in his hands. *Pollux* make a different exposition of this oath from that which other Grammorians do, confounding, as is most probable, the παρωμοσία & ἀντωμοσία, with διωμοσία. For παρωμοσία is that first Oath which the Plaintiff gave to prosecute: the party prosecuted to answer; which on the Defendants side was called ἀντωμοσία, and generally on both. Διωμοσία was a Sacrament taken by both, the Impleader that he did *a* τὰ δεόντα διώκειν, follow the Delinquent in Law; the Defendant ὅτι οὐκ ἠδίκησεν ἀπολύεσθαι, to stand stiffly to it that he did not trespas. And yet *b Ulpian* makes both these one. After this were they that sued one another, admitted to the Judicatory, it being first demanded of the suiter, *c* whether he would *persequi*, follow the suit, and had sufficient witness for evidence; in causes capital it was asked if there were need of any who could not then be present. This interrogation was termed *d* Ἀνάκρισις. If then any thing was deficient, the Judgment was prorogued by an *e* ἀναβολὴ or oath, which the Plantiff took, that for the present he could not perform it, but certainly would. *f* Perhaps for that time pretending sickness, death of friends, or some urgent necessity, on which their fortunes might depend, when then all things were ready, and at hand, they proceeded towards the Tribunal, the Judges first swearing *g* that they would give sentence according to the Laws, and in those things concerning which there were no Laws, according to conscience and equity, (which the Greeks call γνώμῃ δικαστικῇ,) *h* and of those

m Schol. Arist. p. 239.
n Idem p. 195.
o Demosth. 612. n. 33. 629. n. 80. 640. n. 22. 655. n. 65. 665. n. 66.
p Charact. περὶ ἀπονοί. pag. 21.
a Schol. Arist. Vesp. 50.
b In Demosth. p. 287.
c Vide Vldian in Dem. p. 347. 341.
d Bud. in Annot. Rel. ad Pan. p. 341.
e Vlpian in Dem. p. 226. *the* Schol. of Aristoph. *Makes it the same with* ἀπωμοσία. πλ. pag. 75.
f Vlpian. in Demosth. 341.
g Pollux. l. 8. p. 406.
h Demosth. p. 618.

those things only concerning which they did debate. This Oath seems to have been taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little stones (of these by and by) with which they gave sentence. *i Plutarch* ψῆφον ἀπὸ βωμοῦ φέροντες. The Oath is called ἀμφιορκία. Then went the Judges to their seat *k* neatly spread with mats, in Greek ῥιπίδια, and ῥιπίδες, and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the bars in this form *l* ἐκτὸς τοῦ ξύλου they sate down; for we must know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in, as the Romanes, with lattice I suppose, by them called *m* κιγκλίσκοι *Cancellatæ*, by the Greeks κιγκλίδες, *n* though κιγκλὶς more properly signifies the door of the δικαστηρίου, before which was *o* a rope of 50 feet in length drawn, & publick servants set, that none might enter, but who had business. The partition I think was but weak, and therefore by *Demosthenes* called *p* ἀσθενὴς κιγκλίς. Within which none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore when *q Demosthenes* did long to hear *Callistratus* plead concerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Padagogue* that he would bring him where he might have the happiness to be an Auditor. The *Padagogue* therefore acquainted with the publique Officers that opened the doors, πῶς ἀνοίγονται τὰ δικαστήρια δημοσίων, procured him a place where he might hear and not be seen, ἐν ᾧ καθήμενος ἀθέατος ἀκούσειεν. When the Judges had gone within the Barres, lest any should be wanting, the *Præco* cried *b* Εἴ τις δίκης ἐστὶν Ηλιαστὴς, εἰσίτω, if any Judge be without the door of the place of Judgment, let him enter. *c* Because if any came after the Case began to be pleaded, he could not have admission. Being then seated, the Crier read the Inditement, γράμμα (a copy of some part of which you have in *Demosth* ΔΕΒΑΛΕΤΟ ΝΙΚΟΔΟΤΛΟΣΕΠΙΒΟΤΑΕΤΣΑΣΒΜΟΙ, &c. (in which, according to the custome of *e* the old *Ægyptians*, were given up to the Court in writing all the reasons of accusation, the wrong received, and the manner of it, with an estimation of the dammage; The several heads of which the Judges wrote down, lest the Impleader and Defendant should swerve from what they had

i Pag. 122.

k Aristoph. Sch. p. 239.

l Demosth.

m Pollux. l. 8. p. 407.

n Pollux loco citato.

o This is σχοινίον ἄκρον. Pollux.

p Pag. 485.

q Plutarch. in Vita.

b Aristoph. Pag. 494.

c Aristoph. Schol. Ibid.

d ὡς γεγραπται.

e Boemus De Costhumi del le Genti lib. 1. cap. 5.

in hand. Then ſtood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left hand of the Tribunal, and ſpake an accuſatory Oration, made for the moſt part by ſome of the *Attick* Oratours: which uſe brought in by * *Antiphon* the *Rhamnuſian*, *f Clemens* of *Alexandria* calls δεσμὸς λόγου ὑπὸ δίκην γεγενῆ. *g Cicero*, *ſcribere aliis cauſas: quibus in judiciis uterentur*, ſuch as *Lyſias* is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which leſt it ſhould exceed in length, was limited to a certain time, by a veſſel, in the bottome of which was a ſmall hole for water to run, as ſand doth in our hour-glaſſes, thence called κλεψύδρα, into which was poured an equall meaſure of water, and leaſt there ſhould be deceit there was an officer made for that purpoſe named *h* Εὐθυνος, ὁ παρεγυαλίζων ἑκατέρῳ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκ κλεψύδρας, filling alike for the impleader and anſwerer. *i* When therefore the glaſs was run, it was not lawful for them to ſpeak farther. *k* Nay for ſcantneſs of time they were compelled to paſs by many things; and for that reaſon were they chary of their water, bidding that it ſhould be ſtopped at the reciting of Laws, or the like; which *Demoſthenes* intimates in Σὺ δ' ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ as ῥᾳδίως ἐπιλαμβάνει is to ſtop the noſe in *l Ariſtophanes*. *m Apuleius*. *At tu interim dum legit, aquam ſuſtine. Pancirollus* Ne ſi aqua interim effluxiſſet, *amplius ſibi dicendi prohibita foret facultas*, leaſt he might not have leave to ſpeak any more, if the water were ſpent if any would give way to another to ſpeak while his glaſs was running, he might; which *Dem.* teſtifies, ὁ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιλαμβάνετο But if he would not permit it; he bid the *Præco* caſt it forth ἀπόβαλε τὸ ὕδωρ. *Ulpian.* Τετόλμηκε ἔκβαλλε, From which kind of pleading it grew into a proverb *b* πρὸς τὰ κλεψύδρα *c Cicero ad clepſydram*, to ſpeak by the hour or allotted time. His ſpeech being *ended he ſate down. *d* The deſendant then ſitting all that while over againſt him, until he had finiſhed, after addreſſed himſelf to his anſwer which he made from the right hand of the Judicatory; where he had a pulpit, and ſtation for this reaſon ſaies *e Ariſtotle*, becauſe they would make both parties equal. For the Suiter having the better part, they gave the upper part to the deſendant. Or becauſe

* Ariſt. Rhet. l. 1. c. 33.
f Strom. 1. pag. 226.
g In Bruto.
h Pollux l. 8. p. 404.
i Vlpian. in Dem. p. 356.
k Demoſth. περὶ Βοιωτ. p. 589.
l In Pluto.
m Apologia.
a Demoſth. ὑπὲρ Φορμ.
b Ariſtoph. pag. 617.
c Tuſc. Qu. l. 2. in fine.
d Vlpian in Dem. 226.
e Prob'em. περὶ διαφ. σύνλυ καὶ ἀδίκιας.

οἱ ἀμφισβητοῦντες or defendants, were for the most part in custody; If therefore the guard stood on the right hand, the defendant stood there also. Thence then he pleaded for himself, in which plea he was only to wipe out those accusations which his adversary laid against him, *μόνον τὰ κατηγορηθέντα ἀπολογεῖσθαι* [f] δεῖν, and in that had the plaintiff a prerogative for he might object what he would, nay, and as *Aristotle* [g] foreseen all before he commenced his suit, and feigne to himself what he pleased. The defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that instant to clear himself, [h] either by witnesse, or probabilities, of all doubts whatsoever the plaintiff could cast in. Sometimes the Plaintiff and Defendant would desire advocates of the Judges συνηγόρους, hence ἐπὶ συνηγορίαν καλεῖν to plead for a Fee. In the time of their Pleading witnesses were called, who came in and gave their testimonies, and after they had uttered what they had to say, they went to the Altar (as it seems to me either in, or very high to the Judicatory) and swore. [k] *Cicero. Athenis aiunt cum quidam apud eos sanctè graviterque vixisset, & testimonium dixisset publicè, & ut mos Græcorum est, juraudi causâ ad aram accederet, unâ voce omnes Judices, ne is juraret, reclamâsse.* They report that in *Athens* when a certain man (*I Xenocrates*) who had lived Godly and gravely among them, had given witness, and as the fashion of the Greeks is, approached to the Altar to take oath, all the Judges with one voice cryed that he should not. (They would not it seems, have belief rather be bound with religion than truth) Fit to this is the answer of *Pericles* to a friend of his desiring him μαρτυρῆσαι ψευδῆ to testifie a lie; which he was to avouch with an oath, I am your friend, quoth he, to the Altar, that is as farr as conscience, religion and honesty shall permit, hence ἐπὶ βωμὸν ἐπιορκεῖν *ad Aras*, grew I suppose to be a proverb. *Plut. Apoph.* p. 112. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I cannot justly say, in delivering their testimonies they were wont to touch the tips of the eare (for reason to me unknown) called κύβοι from κυμβάκω, *Etymologicon*. (But I rather may suppose it to be a Roman fashion, where the

Plaintiff

[f] Vlpian in Demosth. p. 252

[g] Loco laudato.

[h] Demosth. 219.

[i] Clemens Alexand. *These had certain pettifoggers under them that administred the Laws and forms of act.*

[k] Cicero apud Græcos infimi homines mercedula adducti ministros se præbent in judiciis Oratoribus iis, qui apud illos συνήγοροι vocantur.

[l] Cornelius Vide ad Atticum. l. 1. c. 13.

[l] Vide Laertium in vita ejus.

Plaintiff was wont to pluck his witness by the eare, for remembrance-sake. *Horace lib. 1. Sat. 9. Licet antestari? ego vero oppono auriculam.* — To which *Virgil* looked, saying *Cynthius aurem vellit & admonuit. Eclog. 6.*) and at the end thereof wish all destruction to themselves, and house, if they dealt falsly. Which if they did, they were subject to a writ ἀδίκων μαρτυριῶν, of false witness: and he that suborned them κακοτεχνιῶν. Sometimes the witness was not present at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear say, which the Greek Lawyers term ἀκοὴ, as μαρτυρεῖν τῶν ἀκοῇ τῶν ἀποθανόντων when they take it from those that are dead which went for current and was allowable: But to bring a testimony from the mouth of one that was alive, and within the Territories of *Athens*, it would not pass. As neither theirs who were discarded the liberties of the City, ἄτιμοι, or servants, or any man in his own cause. *a* The manner of witness was twofold, either by personal appearance, and testifying αὐτοπαθῶς, and then he was called μάρτυς, in no case lyable to the law, ἀδίκων ὑπεύθυνος: or else by writing, by which he offered himself to his questions or attackments in law, against whom he witnessed, if he were not true, and this is μαρτυρία. Both parties being heard, and the altercation ceased, the *Præco* cryed. *To whom E. N. hath seemed to violate right* (so they interpret ἀδικεῖν τὸν νόμον *violare*) *let him cast in the black stone, or ballot; to whom he seemeth not, the whole, or white.* For we must know that anciently the Greeks gave their sentences with black and white pebles, called *b* ψηφίσματα (which the French semblably term *Porcellanes* ψῆφος *porcus*) *Ovid.*

Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisque Lapillis:
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpâ.

The antique fashion was with white stones to absolve, with black to condemn the accused. Pertinent to which is the saying of *Alcibiades*, when he was called out of *Sicilie* to go home and and answer for his life, counting it foolish to go thither whence he was never like to escape; when one asked *c* ἀπιστεῖς τῇ πόλει περὶ σοῦ, κρίνει; Wilt thou not trust thy country which begat thee to be thy Judge? Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία, quoth

m Demosth. p. 619. 634.

a Vlpian in Demosth. 238.

b Aristo. h. 4 38. *c* Metamorph. 15. F. 1.

d Ælian. Var. lib. 13. c. 38. Plut. Mor. p. 140.

quoth he οὐδὲν ἐμὲ ἀποκνίσει ἡ ταῦτα εἰδυῖα ἢ μέλαιναν ψῆφον ἀντὶ λευκῆς λάβοι. No not her that brought me forth, for I fear least she being ignorant, and not conceiving the truth, mistake the black for the white stone. The black made *tristem sententiam*, and was so named; the sad sentence, the white *candidam* or acquitting. They used likewise black and white beans, in respect of which *Pythagoras* it thought to have spoken as a Riddle κυάμους μὴ ἐσθίειν not to eat beans; by *e Nonnus* interpreted μὴ παρελκύσαι τὸ δίκαιον διψηφίαις χείμασιν. Not to undermine justice with bribes, or that men should get by the perverting of equity. I see no reason, but that I may think he means men ought not to be too froward in getting places of Judgment. For *f* κυαμοστόκος in *Aristoph.* is by the Scholiast expounded δικαστὴς, & *g* κυάμη πόλις is used for a judge, which properly signifies an eater of beans. But afterwards they had little pellets of Brass; The bloody ones of them were pierced through, therefore termed, *h* πεπυμένοι: the saving were whole, σῶοι. Of these every one took, of each one from the Altar, as I have said, *i* where laying their hands upon the λίθοι, or balls, they intimated by a transposition of them, (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black again) that they would not for envy or by respects, but indifferently & truly judge. When then they were readie to pass sentence, *a* the *Præco* carried about the Κάδον, or Καδίσκον, a certain pitcher (for so *b Xenophon* calls it, ὑδρίαν) having on the mouth of it a conveiance like a Tunnel, named κύμβη, but the top thereof was covered close, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoyding of deceit. I suppose, least one man might cast in more, & therefore were they to touch the λίθον only with their forefinger, middle, and thumb. *c* *Aristoph.* Τὸν τρίβωνα τοῖς δακτύλοις, ἀλλ' ἰσχνῶς. But we must know that the black & white pellets were not promiscuously cast into one pot, but two; *d* The one which freed was made of Brass called πύτινος whether because the first threw it into their voices, or because it may signifie the better, I know not. The other that condemned, being woodden

e In Nazi. Stelit. ζ.

f Pagina 290.
g Lysistrata. P. 870.

b Pollux. l. 8. p. 407. Vlpian in Dem. 470.
i Vlpian in Dem. p. 62.
a Aristoph. 585.
b Pag. 263.

c Pag. 439. vid. Schol.
d Aristoph. Vespis. 502.

wooden ὄστρακον. After the Crier had gon round with both; becauſe ſome would keep their balls, and for favour not give their voice againſt a friend or great perſon, therefore he cried *e* τίς ἀφῆκεν, οὐκ ἀφῆκεν, who hath not caſt in his ball? Let him riſe. So he roſe and threw it in. Then they took them out and numbred them, and in matter of Lands, mony or the like, whoſe veſſel (for there was as many ſet, as the number of the litigants come to) had moſt, got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magiſtrate ſtood with a Rod, & laid it over thoſe that were told, leſt they ſhould miſtake the one for the other, or willingly do it. For ſo were they wont to do; thence named *f* ψηφοκλέπτης. Which *g Tucer* objects to *Monſieur* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulyſſes*, and therefore he calls him κλεπτὴν ψηφοφόρον. Sch. δόλιον κριτὴν; not amiſſe ψηφοκλέπτην. *h* When the number was known, if the white or ſolid balls were more, they took their Tables, which they had in their hands, and drew a ſhort line, as a token of abſolution; if the black or hollow were more, they drew a longer line as condemning. Hence *i* ἀποτιμᾶν θανάτου μακρῷ, may be uſed, for to condemn every body. The thing it ſelf they termed *k* ἀποψηφίζειν as *Ariſtophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown (*l* as none ever was without the ſentence of the Judges) his adverſary wrote down what dammages he ſhould pay, which they term ἐπιγραφάς. *m Plutarch* δίκης πάλαι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἐπιγραφὴν ἦν. *n* For it was an uſe of old for thoſe that went to law to make agreements, I know not whether by oath, for they did ſwear by three Gods Ἰλάσιον, Καθάρσιον, Ἐξακεσίδικον, and put it into the *Echinus* that they would ſtand to ſuch and ſuch conditions, before ſentence, that he that was caſt ſhould undergoe ſomewhat, and afterwards ἐπιγράφειν, than is, ſet down what loſs of limbs, or life, or means, &c. for although they did *o* ἐπιγράφεσθαι, give their eſtates as pledges to anſwer, and meet at the Court; yet it may be that may be leſſe, or more than the fine. There was in cauſes capital an other proceeding, like to that in the City of *Venice*, where they gave two ſentences. In the firſt they determined

e Ariſtoph: Veſpis.

f Schol. Naz. in Ἀχαρν.

g Sophocles Ajace p. 68.

h Schol. Ariſt. 438

i Ariſtoph. Veſp. loco. cit.

k Pag. 491.

l Ariſtoph. p. 472.

m βίοις ῥητ. p. 454.

n Schol. Ariſt. in ὠλ. p. 50.

o Schol. Ariſt. p. 740.

determined whether they should condemn, or free: If in the first he was condemned, the manner of punishment was ordained in the second: but if in the first they found no cause of death, they had the accused to fine himself, which *b Xenophon* intimates by ἐτιμήσατο, and if it were to little the Judges doubtless made it more, as the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*, If I forget not: the custome is set down by *c Cicero*, speaking of *Socrates*; *Ergò ille quoque damnatus est, &c.* And he too was condemned; not only by the first suffrages, but also by those, which by appointment of the Laws, were to give the second time. For in *Athens* the accused being found guilty, if the Offence were Capitall, they weighed and considered the Penalty. When the sentence was to be given by the Judges, they asked the Defendant, what he thought himself to have deserved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common-wealth this is not observed.) In Trial, if there be more for the prisoners liberty, than against him, he is streight acquitted; but if more than half be in the pot of *condemnation*, he suffers. *d Socrates* at the first had two hundred eighty and one more against him than on his side; and at the next eighty more were added to the former; so in all he had three hundred threescore & one condemnatory suffrages. But fewer might have don as much. For we read in *e Demosthenes* of *Cimon* like to be punished with death, ὀλίγαις γὰρ ἔδει ψήφοις, if had there not been wanting. And again, *f* ἑνὸς γὰρ μόνου ἔδει διὰ τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ τιμῆσαι. Nay one was sufficient. *g Demosthenes*. Μιᾷ μόνον ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἔδει ψήφῳ. But *Ulpian* on the place ὅτι μικρᾷ δεῖσθαι τιμωρίας, saies that he was lightly punished. *h* If the voices were equal, then was the prisoner loosed; because sometimes he might be accused upon suspition, or of those things which he did not willingly commit; or perhaps was sued out of envy; and many other reasons given by *i Aristotle*: therefore did the Lawgiver leave some place for pitty and compassion; To which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the *k* deserts of their ancestors, their own lives formerly well led. *l* Sometimes shewed they their wounds, and brought

a Contaren. de Rep. Ven. l. 5.

b Apolog. Socr. p. 265.

c de orat. 1. fol. 61. b.

d Laert. in Socrat p. 115.

e Pag. 436.

f Pag. 430.

g Pag. 338.

h Aristoph. p. 244.

i Probl. τμ. xθ.

k Dem. p. 402. Arist. l. 3. p. 192.

the venerable gray haires of their parents, but the mothers chiefly, to interceede in silence: Sometimes embracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view, or caused them *a* to come up into the βῆμα, or pulpit, and supplicate with teares: which wrought so much upon the Judges, that *b Aristophanes* in a scoff presents one ἀποδακρύσαντα τὸν γνώμονα, drowning his sentence in weeping. Then in compunction would the Judges speak to the Prisoner, κάταβα, κάτα, wishing him to go down from the βῆμα, a token often of Mercy; though now and then it proved otherwise. Nay it was a word of displeasure too, as when *d Plato* would have been Advocate for *Socrates*: Νεύτατον ὦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματα ἀναβαίνοντι, they thundred out καταβαῖνον, τυτθὶ καταβήθι. Neither may I forget *e Amynias* the brother of *Æschylus* the Tragœdian; who, when the people would have stoned his brother for some impiety brought on the stage, held up his elbow, and arm without a hand, lost in the fight at *Salamis*: by which spectacle the Judges calling to mind the merits of *Amynias*, dismissed the Poet. Neither may I omit what *f Xenophon* objects to them, that they cared not so much for justice, as regarded what might conduce most to their own profit, and be convenient: *g* As that they condemned innocents, & spared offenders that could speak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs, was the prolonging of cases a whole year, saies *h Xenophon*, and *i Aristophanes* Ἀλλ' ἐχὶ νυνὶ τὰς ἐσχατιαιτάτας δίκας γράφω, ἀλλ' εἰσωδίς ἐνιαυσιαίαν. Now we do not handle suits of above threescore years, but we are put off till the next day. Τὰς δὲ τῶν δικῶν ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ διαιτῶμεν. For we come to triall within twenty years. This *Xenophon* imputes to the multitude of their imployments. As long as the case hung in suspense, the name of the accused was, as among the *Romans*, whence *k Rei Pendu li*) exposed to a publick Table to the view of all men, which they term ἀκρώνυχα. *Demosthenes*. ἵνα ἐκ τοῦτο πρὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν. *Ulpian*. προτιθῶσι ἐν πίναξι λελευκωμένοις. You see here the place too, viz. at the Statues of the *Hermæ*: Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but αἰτία, by *Demosthenes*

m Dem. p. 493. *n* Arist. loco cit. πολλὰ ἀναβαλλόμενον.

a Arist. p. 469. 499.

b Vesp. p. 449.

c Sch. Ar. 500.

d Laert. Socr. p. 115.

e Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 5. c. 19.

f Athen. Rep. ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ αὐτοῖς μέλλει μᾶλλον, ἢ τῷ αὐτοῖς συμφέροντι. pag. 404.

g Apol. Socr. init. o.

h Athen. Rep. p. 406. Ἐκκλησιαζ. 752. 753. *They are translated foolishly into Latine.* εἰσωδὶς *is what the Professours of the civil Law usually mean by* in proximum.

k Budæus in Pand. No. Relig. p. 31.

i Demost. in Mid. 347.

m Demosthenes termed ψιλὸν λόγον, a bare report; but after proof ἔλεγχον. ἐπὰν ὅτου δ' ἀποτύχῃ, ἢ παλινῳδίᾳ ὑμῶν λήξῃ. After judgment past, *n* κρῖμα. An inditement of sacriledge, theft, murder, treason, is but αἰτία; the evidence and conviction make it ἔλεγχον, the sentence δίκημα.

m Cont. Andr. 388.
n Dem p. 406.

De Areopago, & ejus appellatio, Areopagita

ON the hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, stood the *Areopagus*; in the old Translation of the Acts of the Apostles rendered *Vicus Martius*, by our English men, *Mars hil Street*, falsly. For *a* πάγος bears not that signification, but what *b Justin Martyr* interprets, ὑψηλὸς τόπος, an eminent place. Ἐν γὰρ ὀχθώδει τινὶ τόπῳ τὸ δικαστήριον. For that Judicatory was on a high rock. Therefore named by *c Æschylus* & *d Euripides*, Ἄρειος ὄχθος, by *e Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, & *f Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra*: so called, as sound Antiquity would have it, *g* from the judgment of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the sonn of *Neptune*. But *h Justin Martyr*, because he was there arrained of adultery, μοιχείας ἐπὶ τοῦτο βληθείς. But alike true. It pleases me wel to consider the superstition of the ancients, that consecrated high places to their deities, and erected the statues of their Gods upon hills. As *i Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Anchesmus*, whence *Jupiter Parnethius*, *Hymettius*, *Anchesmius*. And as in *Athens*, *Neptune* had a Hill, Ποσειδῶνος πάγος, *Saturn* another Κρόνου πάγος; *Pan* another, Πανὸς πάγος; *Mercury* another Ἑρμοῦ πάγος: so *Mars* his *Areopagus*. *k Æschylus* gives it a nomination from the *Amazons*, sacrificing to *Mars* there when they came and fought against *Theseus*. Or, if you will receive the opinion of others, it takes the name from the cases in it handled, of blood willfully shed: so *Hesychius*, Ἄρειος φόνος, that when *murd-*

SECT. II.

a when Tullius had divided the Roman field, he made high hills and places fortified by nature, refuges for the husbandmen, and called them πάγους Dion. Hal. 4. Not as if it signified a village but as it was situated: For Pagus villa rustica comes from πηγὴ Because built neer a well. Petor.
b in Acta p. 136.
c Eumenid. p. 296.
d Elect. p. 836.
e Metamorp. l. 6. fab 2.
f Vide Scalig. in conject. *g* Demost. p. 413. Paus. p. 26. Simeon. Met. & Pachym. in vit. Dionys. Areopag. *h* Loc. citato. *i* Paus. Attic. p. 32. *k* Eumenid. p. 296.

venal calls it *Curiam Mareis*, you may interpret it, *The Court of Murther*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the *m Tragœdian*, *the most uncorrupt, sharp, reverend Councel*, than which nothing is more constant; saies *n Tully* comparing to it the Roman Senate nothing more severe; as by *o Pseudo Dictys Cretensis*, it is stiled *Judicium severissimum per omnem Græciam*. Than which none Judged better; more just, or honest, saies *p Xenophon*. *q Plutarch* writes that this Court was ordained by *Solon*: and *r Cicero* received the like opinion; but that seems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* presently brings, quoted in the thirteenth table; that they who had lost their liberties should be restored again, unless they were condemned by the *Areopagites*, *Ephetæ*, *Prytannes*, *Basileis*, of murther, slaughter, tyranny, when that Law was enacted. And by and by, *s* Τίνες δ' ἦσαν οἱ πρὸ Σόλωνος; &c. Who were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solons* time? (if he first instituted the *Areopagites*.) *t* Others are of opinion that *Solon* added the *Areopagites* to the *Ephetæ* (Judges so called, because when formerly the *Basileus* made inquisition after murther unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it εἰσιν, that is, translated it to the *Ephetæ*, their number was but fifty one and though they judged in five Courts once, yet by little & little they became ridiculous.) *u Possardus* saies, he abolished their severity, & substituted the *Agœopagites*. But *a Urbo Emmius* more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate, but brought it into a better form, made it more strong and firm and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it seems lessened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Ephetæ*; *Solon* restored that authority and made it greater. *b* To this company none were admitted, but wise, wealthy and noble men; *c* famous for good life, and innocency, οὐδὲν ὀνείδιστον ἐπιτηδεύοντες, whom no man could Justly charge of misdemeanor. Nay men whose behaviour was intollerable, ἀνεπιτήδειοι πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ὄντες, after they were chosen into the Colledge of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and blushing at their former dispositions, ἀναπτύσσοντες τὴν φύσιν χρῶσι, changed their natures, & embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertain; *e Nicephorus*

f Satyr. 9. v. 100
m Æschylus pag. 297.
n Ad Attic. l. 1. Ep. 11.
o De bello Troi. l. 6. p. 147.
p Απομνημ. p. 448.
q In Solone pag. 63.
r Offic. l. 2.
s Lo[illegible]ato
t Pollux. l. 8. p. 407.
u De Athen. Mag. p. 446.
a De Rep Athen p. 26.
b Vid. Maximum in Prolog. ad S. Dionys. opera & Niceph. lib. 2. in vita Dion.
c Pachymer.
d Isoc. in Areopag. p. 133.
e Loco supra laudato.

phorus makes them but nine; as *Munimon* 100 out of *f Philochorus*; *Pachymerius* fifty and one. But what *Maximus* produces after, is somewhat, that they consisted of fifty and one, besides the Nobility most wise and rich. ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευτὰς ἐξ πλούτου καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμόνας. By which words he seems to aym at the nine *Archontes*, *g* who when they had governed one year and given an account of their offices, and had administred all things justly, were chosen yearly into this society. For which election annual, the number was doubtful. For some might die in that space, or all live, and in the next year be increased. *Volaterran*, out of an old inscription in *Acropolis*, saies that they were three hundred, ΤΩΝ ΑΜΙΡΟΤΑΤΩΝ, &c. To the most famous *Rufius Festus*, *Proconsul of Greece and Areopagite the counsel of Areopagus consisting of three hundred*, and the people of *Athens* set up this monument *for a testimonial of his good will and benevolence*. But that might only happen when this was erected. *h* They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out, εἰ μὴ τις ἄλλη ἄωρη, unless for some grand offence, *i* *Bozius* tels us (how true I wot not) that they were all Priests. *Athenienses olim, &c.* The *Athenians*, quoth he did strive to challenge to themselves the prerogative of wisdome, and to them is it bent what the Apostle saies, *The Greeks seek after wisdome*. Nevertheless their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things consisted of Judges that were Priest, and the High Priest of all that asked every of their sentences took the suffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For *k* they were overseers of all; *l* Judges of wilful murthers; wounds given out of pretended malice; which would make some, having a desire to drive a man out of *Athens*, go to a Chirurgion and make an incision in their heads, that they might sue him whom they hated upon an action of battery, as *Mantitheus* against *Boetius*. They sate upon incendiaries, & impoisoners if the party dyed that took their doses. *a* They saw that the laws should be put in execution, such as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians for their Statutes. *c* In a word, all great *delinquencies* came under their censures. They inquired into

f Acthid. l. 2.
g Anonym. in Argu Oratio. Androtia.
* They were of those Magistrates that were chosen by Lot, as the Archon. Thesmothetæ, Basileus, Polemarchus, for which cause Pericles was not of that number, because he never attained to these offices Plut. in Peric. p. 113.
h Anonymus loco laudat.
i De statu Italiæ adversus Machiavel.
k Plutarch, Solon. p. 62.
l Ælian. Var. l. 15. c. 15. Dem. p. 406.
m Demosth. in Orat. περὶ Βοιωτοῦ ποὶ ὀνόμ. &c.
a Dem. p. 445.
b Pachymer.
c In Sympos. unless I am extream forgetful.

into the behaviours of men, have read in *Zenophon*, that they sharply reprov'd a young man for his loose living. Ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν πρὸς τοὺς τὰ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος διδάσκοντας τὸν Δίωνα σοφιστὰς ἐπανῆγον. *Valerius Maximus. Est & ejusdem urbis sanctissimum consilium Areopagi, &c.* There is likewise in that City the most sacred Councel *Areopagus*, where they were wont most diligently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what gain he maintained himself, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they must give an account of their lives, might embrace honesty. *g* The Greek author tels us that except in great cases of necessity they medled not with state affaires; but it seems otherwise. For if any one say, quoth *h Tullie*, that the *Attick* Republick can be well governed, without the council of the *Areopagites*, he may as well say that the World may be governed without the Providence of the Gods. when the *Medes* and *Persians* invaded *Greece*, *i* by the advice of them was the war waged, wherein *Themistocles* purchased an everlasting memory of a victory. *k* And when their publick Treasury was bare, they furnished each man with eight *Drachmæ*, and stored the ships with Mariners. Which advice, when they had wonne the day, was a cause saies *l Aristotle*, εὐσθενείας καὶ ἰσχύος, to give strength and sinews to the Commonwealth. *m* Under their sight were all the youth of *Athens*. For this reason especially, because that when they were reckoned among men, & were come to age they needed more care to be had of them, then when they were children. (not observed by our Countreymen in sending their sons young to the *Inns of Court*) Youth, and heat of blood, unstaidness in judgment, rashness in adventures, and pronenes to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong, tender years to their own destruction. To them appertained blasphemies against their Gods, violating of Religion & divulging Mysteries, as when *Eurycles* the *Hierophanta* in answer to the question of *Theodorus*, Τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια; who offended against the mysterie? Οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηγούμενοι, sophyes, such as open them to those

d It is quoted likewise by Athenæus. Dipn. l. 4. p. 167.
e Lib. 2. c. 6.
f Aristides. T. 1. l. p. 334
Πρὸς τοὺς Ἐξαιτιδίους περὶ τιμῆς πατρὸς καὶ μητρός.
g Anon. Arg. Orat. Androt.
h De natura Deorum 2.
i Est enim bellum gestum consilio Senatus ejus. Cicero. Off. 1.
k Plutarch. in Themistocl. pag. 84 l. 3.
l Poll. l. 5. c. 4.
m Isocrates Areop. p. 132.
n Laert. lib. 2. in Aristip. p. 153.

who are not initiated. Therefore quoth he, Philosopher, art thou impious. For which crime had not *Demetrius Phalareus* befriended him; the *Hierophanta* was in danger, τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον ἀναχθῆναι κρίνειν, to have been brought before the Counsel of *Areopagus*. By vertue of which authority S. *Paul* was here judged for teaching strange Gods (as they supposed.) *a* For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*; yet their Lords made them αὐτονόμους, *sui juris*, & permitted thē to keep their ancient customes. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus. After the fellony committed, the appellant brought his indictment to the *Basileus*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three several times to debate the business, in the fourth month, brings in the accusation to the *Areopagites*, *b* and putting off the Crown which he was wont to wear, sate down as judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, *c* Lucian saies that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken. It being there forbidden ἀγωνιᾶσθαι καὶ οἰκτίζεσθαι, to move to compassion, and use Proems, as in other Courts, wherein they craved the Judges favour and attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed προοιμίοις. This *f* *Aristotle* calls ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων λέγειν, to speak beside the matter. Before the trial both parties swear (which they stile ὅρκους.) The Appealer standing upon the *exuviæ* of a Goat, a Ram, and a Bull (usuall to the *Greeks*, as *Tyndarus* swore the Suiters of *Helena*, that they should revenge any wrong done to her, and her predestinated husband, ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου τοῦ Μενελάου, & *Hercules* to the children of *Helena* ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τέκνοις) took oath, therefore named ὅρκος ἐπὶ τομίοις, in which he maintained that he dealt justly and righuly, and that he was joyned in affinity to the slain man, *k* which if he were not, he could not prosecute, the Law forbidding. The reason why he stood ἐπὶ τομίων, I suppose is, because they are the instruments of generation, & in that oath, if he were not true, he wished an extirpation of his house, himself and his posterity. In which if he were perjured, he was lyable to no punishment, as among the Romans, *Furis jurandi contempta religio, satis De-*

a Simeon Mcaphrast.

b Pollux, l. 8.

c Hermorim. p. 505.

d Pollux, p. 405

e Vide Vlp. n. Demost. pag. 396.

f Pollux loco laudato. Dem. cont Arist. pag. 413.

g Pausanias Lacon p. 113.

h Idem Messaniacis. p. 126.

k Demost. p. 608. & 418. *These agreed, sayes* Possard, *about the punishment, according to the damage received.* De Athen. Mag. pag. 449.

l Lib 2. Cde reb. cred.

ans alterum habet. Perjuring is punished by a revenging God, but if any swore false by the life of the Prince, he fell under the *Julian* Law, *Læsæ Majestatis*. After this the prisoner swore, which among us will not be allowed. Then setting each of them upon a two silver stones, one of which was named ἀδίκου τίσεως, the stone of injury, the other ἀποψηφίας, by *Adrianus Junius* thought ἀναιτίας of innocence, not impudence. Then the appealer asked the prisoner three questions, which *b Æschylus* calls τέλη ἀγῶνος. First, whether he were guilty or no, εἰ κατέκτονας; to which he answered, ἔκτανον οὐκ ἔκτανον, yea, or nay: secondly, πῶς κατέκτονας; for what reason he did the murther? Thirdly, Τίνι βουλεύματι; who were the Abbetors? Then arose there certain Lawyers, ἐξηγηταὶ, who shewed whether the Murther was committed δίκῃ ἢ ἀδίκῳ in justice. (*c* For in *Athens* there were such Councellours, to whom in matters of difficulty they had resort) By δίκη, you must understand those causes, in which *f Deaco* thought it lawful to kil a man. As taking him committing uncleanes with wife, mother, sister, daughter, or concubine, or any who he accounts among his children, the party so offending might be slain in the manner by him, against whom he had trespassed. Likewise, in the defence of a mans goods, if the theif were killed impunity was granted. After this inquisition, they passed to sentence, wch was given very privily, as *Juvenal* intimates, *Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis*, without speaking (as the *Tabellares* sententia of the *Romans*, in which they wrote C. if they condemned, A. if absolved, N. L. if the case were not manifest) hence Ἀρειοπαγίτης σιγαῖος τις, for one that is close and silent; and Ἀρειοπαγίτης, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, and in whose countenance is *tristis severitas* ἐπὶ τῷ συνοφρυοῦν τε καὶ σεμνύνειν τὸ πρόσωπον. Whatsoever they concluded of, stood irrecoverable, neither *h* could there be any appeal to another Tribunal. And no marvel. For so upright was their sentence, *i* that none, either Appellant or Prisoner, could ever say, that he was unjustly condemned. Nay both parties, as well those that are cast, as they that cast, are alike contented, *k* ἀπῆν ὄχλος στέργων ὁμοίως τοῖς

a Paus. Attic. pag. 27.

b Eumenid. pag. 292.

c Ibidem.

d Æschylus pag. 293.

e Demost. vid. pag. 647.

f Demost. pag. 312.

Vide Demosth. contra Arist.

Vide Sylvium in Orat. pro Flacco.

g Terentius.

h Ἡ τῶν κρίσεις οὐκ ἐξίστα τῆς κειμένης ἀρετῆς. Pachimerius.

i Dem. con. Aristocrat. p 413.

k Aristid. Tom. 1. p. 185.

αὖθις κρίνειν ἔδοξεν. After doom the prisoner was to suffer death. In which Execution also the *Arepagites* had a care lest the innocent should be punished with the guilty. *l* When therefore they had condemned a woman for poysoning another, they deferred the Execution, because she was great with child, and straight way after her delivery put the mother to death. Which custome is by us also observed at our Assizes. *m* It will not be amiss to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconsul of *Asia*; who, when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband and son, who had deprived her of a hopeful youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commanded the woman and her accuser to appear some hundred years after, that by such a bottome of time, scarce able to be unwinded, they might shew, that they would neither condemn nor acquit the woman. One thing more *a Quintilian* tels us, that they *condemned* a boy putting out the eies of Quailes. Because it was a sign of a mind, likely to prove most pernitious. Their power was shaken and somewhat pluckt down by *b Ephialtes*, a sore enemy of *Oligarchicall* goverment, and more inclining to the people, who was secretly slain by *c Aristodicus* of *Tanagra*. They sate three daies every month, πρώτην φθίνοντος, τρίτην, δεκάτην.

l Ælian. Var. H. st. l. 5. c. 13.

m Valer. Max. p. 322.

a Lib. quinto.

b Plutarch, vir. d. 355: & Mor. 361.

c Plut. in Pericle. d. 113.

De Judicio ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

SECT. III.

After the siege of *Troy*, some of the Grecians came with *Diomedes*, *d* who kept the *Palladium*, to the coast of *Attica*; and arriving by night at *Phalerum*, supposing it to be an enemys country, went to make a prey, where *Demophon* ignorant that they were Grecians, came to aid and defend his own, and slew many of the *Argivi*; which they cast out unburied, whose bodies when no beasts had toucht (εἰδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, saies *Pollux*, the Interpreter, *nullum vivum*, I better think it no creature either Foul or Beast) *Acamas* shewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*. Being

d Dictys Cretensis de bello Trojano. l. 5. d. 140.

e Libro octavo p. 406.

warned then by the Oracle (who named them Ἀγνῶτας, that is, *f* neither knowing, nor known) they buried them; and in that place consecrated the *Palladium*; where they made also a judicatory for murthers unwillingly committed, and called it * Ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ *juxta Palladium*, as some. Here was *Demophon* first tried, who returning from this battail, killed with his horse, somewhat diverting, an *Athenian*; *g* For whose kinred some think he satisfied the Law; or generally for the *Argivi*. *h* If any had striken a man or a woman, and the party chanced to die, he was judged in this Court. *i* In such cases the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was not punished with perpetuall exile; ἀειφυγία, as in wilfull Felony; (kept by us in *England* once, called *Abjuration* where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would never return) but he did *k* ἐξέρχεσθαι, in a gentler term. *l* For it was a custome of old, to give a certain summe of mony (the *Attick* Law χίλια τετρακόσια δραχμὰς, in wilfull all was confiscate) to the kinred of the slain that they might not depart their country but if they could not purchase an aboad, they went somewhere else. *m* Ovid. *Cæde puer facta à Patroclus Opuma reliquit.* Their discontinuance was but for one year, ἄλλος δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκτὸς ἀπελθὼν ἐκ, πᾶσαν τὴν ποινὴν ἐτίσατο. The money disbursed on such occasions was properly called ποινὴ, *quasi* τιμὴ, from φόνος murther, as if it were the price of blood. And the Schaliast on *Sophocles* tells us that ποινὴ is spoken only ἐπὶ καταβολῆς χρημάτων of paymens of mony, but abusively of any punishment. *a* If the party wounded had forgiven the offender before his death, or the allies of the man desperately hurt, none could afterwards compel him to flee; otherwise he fled. And in the flight, he betook himself to some acquaintance, by whom he was cleansed from the guilt with certain ceremonies of washing, which the Romans call *Februa*. So was *Patroclus*, *Peleus*, *Medea*, *Alcmæon* purified: *b* Ovid.

Græcia principium mortis fuit: illa nocentes
Impia lustratos ponere facta putat.
Alboridem Peleus, ipsum quoque Pelea Phoci

Cæde

f Schol. Sop. in Oed. Tyr.

* *It is simply so called* Palladium Ælian Var. l. 5. c. 15. περὶ τῆς Αἰακίδων ἐν Παλλαδίῳ.

g Paus. Attic. d. 27.

h Dem. contra Neæram. pag. 727. vid. p. 647.

i Dem. d. 329.

k Demosthenes, Midiana.

l Eust. in Il. I. Εθος παλαιὸν ἦν φονέα δίκης πυθέσθαι &c.

m De Ponto l. 1. Eleg. 4.

n Eustath. *but* Demosthen. ἕως ἂν ἀδίκου τείσῃ ἐγγύτατα τῷ πεπονθότος, *until he obtained remission from some of the kinred of the slain.*

a Demosth.

b Fastorum 2. initio.

Cade per Æmonias solvit Acastus aquas.
Vellam frandis per inane deiconibus Ægeus
Credulus immeritâ Phusida sevit ope;
Amphiaraïdes Naupactiaco Acheloo
Solve nefas dixit; solvit & ille nefas,
Ah nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis
Fluminea tolli posse putatis aquâ!

In this ceremony they did θύειν, sacrifice, saies *c Demosthenes*; which custome likewise was observed by the *d Trazenians* in the lustration of *Orestes* from the blood of his Mother; which I gather by the feast which they presently celebrated there, and yearly observed afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read taken out of the well *Hippocrene*, made by the foot of *Pegasus*; the sprinkling was with a little bough of Lawrel, as I suppose, (by the words following perswaded to it, which tells us, that when the καθάρσια were buried, there sprouted out of them a Bay-tree) and after that καθαίρειν, θύειν, καὶ καθαρμοῦσθαι. This, as I said, was in his flight, Κατιὼν δ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ καθαίρεσθαι νομίμοις τισί. The proceeding in his Court, was first, ὀμωσία, such as before I mentioned, an oath of each party, accuser and defendant: secondly, λόγοι, their speeches on both sides: thirdly, γνῶσις δικαστῶν, Judgment. If the prisoner were found guilty, that is, unwilligly to have murthered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he should flee, as above said, until he he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Cousins of the deceased.

c Κατὰ Βεοτ. p. 414.
d Pausan. Corinth. p. 74. Καθῆραι δὲ φασιν Ὀρέστην καθαρσίοις καὶ ἄλλοις, &c.

De Judiciis in Δελφινίῳ. Πρυτανεῖον ἀρχαῖον.

SECT. IV.

AT Athens there was a Temple erected by *c Ægeus* (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honor of *Apollo Delphinius* and *Diana Delphinia*: *a* where was the Tribunal named ἐν Δελφινίῳ or ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ δικαστήριον. In this Judicatory were heard cases of murther, when the party confessed the fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. *b* For the Law required no punishment of any man that should kill another taking him committing adultery with his Wife, or uncleanes

c Plutarch. p. 4. l. 59.
a Schol. Arist. pag. 333.
* Ælian. Var. l. 5. c. 15.
b Demosth. contra Arist. p. 410, 411.

neſs with his Mother, Siſter, Daughter, Concubine, or free Children. Likewiſe in preſervation of his goods, or own defence he ſpilt blood, it was not capital. The firſt that was arraigned here was *Theſeus* maintaining the right he had to ſlay the Theeves, ſaies *c Pollux*, (I know not whether he mean *Sciron* and *Procruſtes* &c.) and *Pallas* with his children who were Rebels. Before this trial of *Theſeus*, whoſoever had ſlain any body was compelled to flee the Country, or ſtaying die; were the cauſe never ſo juſt Ἐν πέτραις, ἐκεῖ. Here they ſate on things inanimate. As if a ſtone, timber, iron, or ſuch like fall on a man, and kill him if the party that ſlung this be not known, ſentence was paſt on that thing which ſlew him, and the *f* ξυλοκάσται, that were the Maſters of this Court, were to ſee this thing caſt out of the Territories of *Athens*; to which *g Æſchines* alludes. Τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους, καὶ ἐὰν σίδηρον, τὰ ἄφανα, καὶ ἀγνώμοτα, ἐὰν τίνα ἐμπέσοντα ἀποκτείνῃ ἐκτρέχομεν. The firſt thing that here was judged was an Axe, wherewith the Prieſt whom they call Βουτύπον, had ſlain an Ox on the altar of *Jupiter Polieus* in the time of *Erectheus*. Ἐν φρεαττοῖ, In that part of *Piræum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name φρεαττὺς from *Phreutus* an *Heros*, ſome think, not becauſe it ſtood in a pit, whence *h Pollux* names it ἐν φρεατίῳ. Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwilful murther μήπω ἐφ' ἑκάστοις αὐτοὺς ἀδικουμένους, they that drove him out not acquitting him, if in the ſpace of this exile it happened that he wittingly ſlew another he anſwered here. The proceeding was in this ſort. The Judges aſſembled ἐν φρεαττοῖ, in a place ſeated on the Sea, *k* τόπον ἐπικεκλιμένον ἐπὶ θαλάττην, where the *guilty* drawing near in a *boat* or *bark* was to make his apology, ἕως ἂν ἀφίωμαι & not coming to *land* or touching it, neither caſting anchor, *l* or mooring his bark, and if he were found guilty he underwent deſerved puniſhment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of that fact, not diſcharging him of the former πάλιν δ' ὅτι φεύγει, οὐ συγχωροῦσιν ὑπάρχειν. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are, in this; that if he were caſt in this tryal, he was

exposed

c Lib. 8. p. 406. *d* Pauſan. Att. p. 27.

f Pollux loco citato.

g Contra Ctesiph. p. 103.

h Lib. octav. 406.

i Demoſth. con. Ariſt 415.

k Demoſth.

l Rodolphus Gualter. *out of* Pollux *interprets it* Scalam terræ injicientem & *putting down a ladder*; *the Greek* καθιέντα.

m Demoſth.

exposed to the cruel mercy of the wind and waves. These last quoted words seem to contradict it. The first that ever answered here was *Teucer*, proving himself to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*, whom they treacherously circumvented because he defended not his father *Telamon*, drove out of *Salamis*, unto which that he might be restored he made appeal to this Court. Which gives light to [b] *Aristotle* ὅτι τῶν φύγην φόνου, ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἐποίησεν εἶον Αθηναίοις λέγεται καὶ τὰ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικαστήρια. Judicatories concerning men flying for murther, that care for their bringing back again, such as in *Athens*, τὰ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ, When the party prosecuting will not admit of reconciliation.

[a] Dictis crensis de bello Trojano lib. 6. p. 145.

[b] Politic. 4 c. 17.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παρ' Βυσσὸν. Τεθρίππων. Βαπτραχίων. Φοινικίων. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ, Μικρὸν δικαστήριον. Ἐν Ἀρδηττῷ. Διαιτηταί.

SECT. V.

BEsides these Courts of blood and causes criminal, there were for civil matters the *Heliæa*, of which before for the excellency of it I treated. παρὰ Βυσσὸν. Of this name there are two Δικαστήρια μεῖζον καὶ μείζονος, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters, saies *Petit*, that exceeded not one drachm, to which [c] *Aristotle* might be thought to look, speaking of Judicatories, ἐπὶ δὲ μικρῶν ἀναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμαῖα &c. And this was the meaning of [d] *Pausanias*, Ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις ἀναίρετον εἰς ἄνδρα. Suing here for the least occasions. The *Undecimviri* were Judges of the Court which made *Petit*, to suppose that it was not to be reckoned among the Δίκαι δικαστηρίων It stood [e] ἐν ἀφανεῖ τοίχου, in an obscure place of the City, whence ἐν σκοτεινῷ, in [f] *Demosthenes*, is by *Ulpian* expounded privily, by a *Metaphor* taken from the situation of the Judicatory; or, πεφωλευμένων ἐν τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἔνδον, καὶ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνοιγόντων, from goods secretly hidden. Ἐν τριγώνῳ, ἀπὸ τοῦ λάβδα. Τεθρίππων. from the form of it, which seems to have been triangular. Βαπτραχίων and Φοινικίων, from the colours that were painted ἐπὶ τῷ στομίῳ τῆς εἰσόδου upon the post of the entry, answer-

[c] Polit. lib. 4. c. 17.

[d] Attici. p. 27. l. 13.

[e] Pausanias ibidem.

[f] Pag. 450.

[g] Aristotles Athen. Rep. apud Arist. Sch. pag. 31.

able to which there was a staff given to the Judges, that they might know in what Court to sit. For they presently went to that Court which had the same colour with their staff. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ, from the statue of *Lycus* an *Heros*, which was there set up, having the face of a wolf; where likewise the statue of *Juno* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every Court, hence *h* Λύκου δικαί, *Lycidecem*, for sycophants and such as corrupt judgment, because that such persons were every frequent and busie there; And so think I *Pollux* is to be read, *a* πάλαι ἡ ζωώσουσι οἱ συνδιδόντες τὰ δικαστήρια (understand πρὸς ὃν or the like) at which they who bribed the Judicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture, ἵνα οἱ διαδικάζοντες καὶ συνεργάται καὶ δίκαι χρηματικῶν συνίστανται. The *b* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple neer the Judicatory, where the Judges divided their money for pay, three oboli to each a day. *c* Μετίχου δικαστήριον. This was a great Judicatory; so named from *Metichus* an artificer which built it. Here, who had passed thirty years of his age, and was well and Nobly descended, and owed nothing to the publick Treasury, might be chosen Judge. For of such they all consisted, ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Some have falsely supposed that there was a Tribunal so called: neither did *d Meursius* think otherwise when he translated these words, of *e Pollux*, ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ, *apud tribunal Ardettum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the transcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ὄμνυον ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ. The Judicatories were wont to take Oath or be sworn in *Ardettus*. *Ardettus* is a place neer the River *Ilissus*, so named from *Ardettus* a Peer, who swore the people, being in sedition and mutinie, to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is most probable, the Judges took oath (I cannot justly say presently after their election) to give sentence according to the Laws, and concerning things to which no laws were enacted, in equity and justice, *f* by *Apollo Patrius*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologist affirms, speaking of *Ardettus*, *g* ἐν τούτῳ ἦν χωρίῳ ὄμνυον

h Zenobius.

a Lib. octavo. p. 406. *The place is extreamly corrupted, as you may perceive by the false Greek.*

b Vesp. p. 457.

c Pollux. l. 8.

d Athen. Att. l. 2. c. 12. p. 124.

e Lib. 8. pag. 406.

f Ἀπόλλω Πατρῷον, καὶ Δήμητρα, καὶ Διὰ Βασιλέα.

g Etym. mag. p. 147.

ὤμνυον οἱ δικασταὶ δικάσειν ὀρθῶς. The Judges in this place took their Oath touching the discharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients such as would presently swear, were called *b Ardetti*, proverbially; as also those who were perjurious and forsworne. Καὶ Ἀρδήττεις ὁμόσαντες. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories in number tenn. For Murther, *Areopagus*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytaneum*, and *Phreattys*: For other matters *Heliæa*, *Trigonum*, *Parabystum* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Metichi forum*, *& ad Lycum*, where the Διαιτηταὶ were wont to sit, sayes *k Possardus*, of whom, because *l Emmius* numbers them among *Judicia quatuor precipua*, the four chief Courts, I will now speak. Out of every Tribe were chosen *m* forty four men, *n* above threescore years old, who judged in several Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refused to sit according to his lot, he was deprived of the priviledges of an *Athenian* Citizen. *o* In former time there came no controversie into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands; (if it exceeded tenne drachmes; Although *p Ulpian* tells us that they determined of petty businesses) but that seems to be, Περὶ τὰ ἱερά, holy matters, if *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under their Jurisdiction. Whatever the Διαιτηταὶ κληρωτοὶ judged, if the Plaintiff and Defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might referre it to the Senate (as appears out of the *q* Argument of *Demost. Orat. contra Callippum*, *& r Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot, as they gave them on what side soever, for the Plaintiff by themselves, and for the Defendant by themselves. *s* When they were appointed for the hearing of a case, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time, if neither, or but one was present, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the suit, and wrote the accusation, with the fine which was required for dammages; they received as a fee from the Plaintiff one drachme which

b Casaub. Theoph. Char. p. 178.
i Etym. Mag. loco laudato.
k De Mag. Athen p. 540.
l Descrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.
m Ulpian. in Dem. p. 342.
n Pollux l 8. p. 407.
o Pollux ib.
p Demosth. loco citato.
q Pag. 678.
r Lib. 8. p. 407.
s Vide Dem. Midian. &c. Ulpian in illum. p. 344.

which they called † διάταξις, as alſo another from the defendant, when they gave him his oath. This office was but annual; And becauſe they would pervert juſtice, (as ‖ *Demoſthenes* is witneſſe, * although they were not to judge before they had ſworne) give ſentence according to favour, envie, or for gaine, therefore ‡ at the years end they made an account of their function upon the laſt day of § *Thargelion*, on which it was lawful for any to ſpeak what he could object againſt them; and if any were faulty, they were ἄτιμοι. Thus much of the Διαιτηταὶ Καθ' ἑκάστους. There were other Διαιτηταὶ likewiſe, ſuch as our Civilians call *Arbitri compromiſſarii*, and we in Engliſh Arbitrators: whom two parties choſe with a reſolution to ſtand to their determination; whether in matter of debt, covenant, or other controverſie whatſoever. Such by the *Attick* law any might requeſt, but with a neceſſity of abiding at their judgment. ‖ For they could not appeal from them to any other court. To referre matters to their Arbitrement, the Greeks terme ἐπιτρέπειν διαιτᾶν. And it will not be ſuperfluous here to relate the ſtory of *Bunas* an *Athenian*, whom when the *Elei* and *Calydonii* had choſen arbritrator in a difference after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the ſentence until at laſt he died. Whence it grew to a proverbe, ‖ Βοῦνας διάζει, *Bunas judicat*, *Bunas* judgeth, of thoſe that deſer to paſſe ſentence, and hold a caſe long in ſuſpenſe.

† Pollux 8. c. 10 p. 408.

‖ Orat. in Bœotum pro dote.

* Idem pag. 682 n. 41.

‡ Vlpian loco laudato p. 342.

§ Petit. Miſcel. l. 8. p. 221.

‖ Vide legem apud Dem. p. 344.

‖ Zenobius.

CAP. IV.

De Nominibus Iudicialibus.

HAving thus treated of the *Attick* Courts, it followes that I ſpeak of their Termes of Law, Writs, and Accuſations. Theſe were of two ſorts, private, and publick. The publick were properly termed Κατηγορίαι, ſaies † *Emmius*. Of Κατηγοριῶν there were divers ſorts. Τραυματίας, ὕβρεως, ἀπαγωγῆς, ἀσεβείας, ἀνδραποδίσεως, κακηγορίας. Τραυματίας, ſaies ‖ *Vlpian* ὁ ἐπὶ τραύμασιν, of any treſpaſſe againſt the Law, by which the Statutes

† Deſcrip. Reip. Ath. pag. 41.

‖ In Dem. pro Corona, p. 1. 9.

Statutes of the Commonwealth are violated, and most properly, *d* quoth he, elsewhere, it signifies an accusation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the same which in English we call a *e* Writ of Right, in Latine *Actio*, or *Formula*, as in *f Sueton*, *Injuriarum formulas intendere*, to serve a man with a Writ. *g* Εἴσοδος is a kind of an information made against any for abuses in the Mines, or Custome houses, for converting Tribute mony to a mans own use, or the like. Which offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with the names of the accuser and accused, and the fine, which the parties convinced, should undergoe, to be paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if the Informer had not the fifth part of the suffrages, he was to lay down the sixt part of the fine, which the *h* Orators call ἑκτημόριον, from ἕκτος μόριον because it signifies the sixt part of a Drachm. At the end of the accusation, the informer was to subscribe the names of the witnesses that were present. In general, all discoveries of private injuries are called φάσεις; which in Latin you may name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth part of the forfeit, whence they are stiled *Quadruplatores*; but among the *Athenians* not so, if *i Pollux* say right, ᾧ τὸ πεμπτὸν ἐγίγνετο τῶν δικαζόντων, εἰ μὴ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φαίνοιτο, the amercement fell to the person injured, although another accused for him. If the fine were written down a thousand Drachms, & the Accuser had not the fift part of the voices, he paid two hundred and one Drachme: if it exceeded a thousand, four hundred and one. Ἔνδειξις is a Writ against those that owe to the City Treasury, and yet go about to bear office, saies *k Ulpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The *l* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* takes it for the accusing of any that did amiss in publick affairs. and the *m* Interpreter of *Demosthenes* in another place, ὁπόταν τῶν ἀτίμων for men disfranchised. But *n Pollux* teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* against one taken in the manner, which the *Greeks* termed ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, *o Schol. Nazian.* ἐπ' αὐτοφώρου τοῦ κλοπῆς, *Pollux* expresses by ὁμολογουμένην ἀδικήματος, when the offence is confessed. Because men so apprehended were

d Orat. cont. Lep. 296.
e Sir T. Smith Com. wealth of Eng. l. 2. c. 10.
f In Vitellio.
g Pollux l. 8. p. 387.
h Demosth. cont. Caricl. p. 699 n 6. cont. Everg. & Mnesib. p. 646. n. 90. cont. Steph. A. p. 22. n. 9. contra Onetora. Exul. 6. p. 528. n. 19. cont. Apho. β. p. 508. m. 97.
i Onomast l. 8. c. 6. p. 387.
k Demosth. p. 391.
l In Equit. p. 303.
m Pag 469.
n Onom. l. 8. p. 388.
o In Stelit. 1.

forced to condemn themselves: no further evidence required than from their own mouths. By which acknowledgment of their guiltiness, without greater trial, they received their doom: *p* as among us when a prisoner arraigned, confesses his Indictment to be true, no twelve men go upon him: there resteth but the Judges sentence of the pain of death. Whence grew our Proverb, Confess and be Hanged. *q* Πολλὰκις ὁμολογήσας ἀδικήματα. ὁ κείμενος, ἀλλὰ τιμᾶται δεσμῷ. He that thus made his declaration, was to subscribe his name, that if he were false, he might be liable to the Writ, ψευδῶν ὑποδίκων. The declaration was against men who were not present. Ἀπαγωγὴ, is a carrying of a man before the Magistrate, being taken in the fact, whom otherwise he was to accuse by declaration in his absence. By which a thousand Drachms were endangered. In this ἀπαγωγῇ, they brought not all offenders to the same Magistrates, but according as they were made Judges of such and such offences: *r* sometimes to the eleven, sometimes to the *s* *Thesmothetæ*, sometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publick Treasury; or bound for those places or Countries where it was not permitted for him to go, or one who had committed Murther, if by reason of weakness he durst not venture to apprehend the person, and ἀπάγειν, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the house where such a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers term ἀφορᾶσθαι. Ἀνδροληψία, is when a fellon hath committed murther, and flies for succor to any, (as the Law suffered any to receive him) if the kinred of the slain or others had requir'd the *Malefactor* to be delivered to them and the Protector would not, it was lawful to enter into his house and carry away any three persons, as some translate it, or all save three, πλὴν τριῶν, *u* as others, who were to answer for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly, was not to escape unpunished. Εἰσαγγελία, saies *x* *Ulpian*, is an accusation concerning great and publick matters, such as *x* elsewhere he speaks of, to wit the dissolution of the *Democracie*; or if an Orator had spoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publick; if any went to Warrs before they were sent;

p Sir T. Smith Common W. of Engl. l. 2. c. 26. p. 281.
q Loco laud.
r Ulp. in Dem. p. 389.
s Idem. p. 407.
t Dem. p. 416.
u Idem cont. Arist. p. 41.
x In Dem. p. 48.
x Eund. p. 453.

sent, or betray'd a Garrison, army, or fleet. In other accusations, if the accuser had not the fifth part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand Drachms, and lost the priviledges of a Citizen in this he was uncontrolable. But in after time, because men would accuse presently for none, or small offences, therefore was there a Law enacted, that whosoever accused by εἰσαγγελία, and had not the fifth part of voices on his side, was fined a thousand Drachms, although he lost not the priviledges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes, but was only by bare word of mouth, and as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called Εἰσαγγελτικὸς. The Senate was *Judex*. (*Pollux* saies that *Solon* made a thousand to sit on this, and *Phalareus* 1500 where the Interpreter errs; for ἐξ ἑκατέρου is 500 to them, as καὶ ἑκατέρους in *Demosthenes*, and somwhat more) and whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined; but if the offence were heinous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publick actions, Private were these that follow, more properly call δίκαι.

Αἰκείας δίκη. is an action against a man, who, when two shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which the Greeks call ἄρξαι πληγῶν ἀδίκων. *x* The matter was heard before the Judges and though the Law ordained not any set sum of mony for dammages yet it was permitted for the party smitten to write down what he thought fitting. *a* The reason why these actions were so strictly looked into, was least any not able to defend himself with his hands, should seek to revenge himself with stones, or other hurtful weapon,

y Dem. p. 410. vide Vlp. ib. & Arg. Orat. cont. Everg. p. 627. *z* Sch. Arist. Conc. p. 745. *a* Dem. con. Con. p. 690.

b Κωμῳδίας δίκη. Somewhat neer our proviso of giving the lye, least by taunting and reproachful words, men be provoked to blows. Βλάβης δίκη. Is when any man receives dammage and hurt in estate by another man. *c* As to turn water into his ground, by which it is annoyed; *d* To refuse to pay mony where it is required, or to give it to another; *e* To promise to bear witness in a suit, and then not be present, by which the case fals, & the like. Παρακαταβολῆς δίκη. About pawns, I suppose, which men that needed mony were wont to leave

b Idem ibid.

c Arg. Orat. Dem. contra Gallicsem. *d* Dem contra Callip. p. 680. n. 20. *e* Dem cont. Tim. p. 659. n. 45.

with the usurers; as cloaths, houshold-stuff, &c. Or about mony put to the *banco*, which the exchangers did imploy to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of *g Demosthenes*. The word imports both. Ἀπροικίας δ. Of divorces. *h* For they were wont to put away their wives, in former time, upon discontent or hope of greater portions, which divorce they called, ἀπροικίαν, and as *Lysias* ἀπροικίαν on the husbands side, and on the wives πρῖσιν: for he did as it were turn her away, she was said to forsake him. Κακώσεως δ. Of ill usage of Parents as not relieving them if they were poor: Of wives against husbands, of Pupils against Tutors. Κλοπῆς of theft, after what manner soever; Which if it were by day, was not capital, but by night was deadly. Χρέως δ. Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by *i* Law provided in *Athens* that none should take too much Use, although once allowed by *Solon*, that any might make the best of his mony: which he terms κεφάλαιον ἀργύριον. Of Usury I shall speak more in the Chapter of mony. Συμβολαίων. δ. When men had bargained and would not stand to it. *l Aristotle.* Δίκαι περὶ ἁπλῶν ἢ περὶ συμβολαίων.

Συνθήκης ἀγαθέσεως δ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance between Man an Man: or between City and City, concerning free trading; as that of the *Carthaginians*, with the *Romans*. *Arist. Pol.* 3. *c.* 6. or the like *m* These Συνθῆκαι were usually confirmed by oath to each other. Ἀντιδόσεως δ. *n* a contention about bearing office, in which they seek to have a time appointed, when a man shall enter into it. For the discharge whereof they are to prove him fit. Ἐπικληρίας δ. When parents died & left their daughters inheritrices, the kindred was wont to sue each other, to make it appear, who was neareſt joyned in blood, that he might marry her. Hence a virgin, to whom an inheritance falls, is called ἐπίδικος, that is, *Controversa*. Μισθώσεως οἴκου δ. About letting of Houses. (For *Herodotus* terms that ἐπιθώσεα, which other Greek writers μισθώσεις, it is as well to set to hire, as to take to rent, μισθοῦν, and ἐπιμισθοῦν to let out. Which they often did for want of Money;

f Sch. Arist. 137. E.
g Cont Phor. p. 555. n. 7. 8.
h v. Cujacium. Obse. l. 6. c. 15.
i This is reckoned among the Laws which were made for private men. Vlp. in Dem. p. 481.
k V. Casaub. in Theoph. p. 191 Char.
l Ἀποστάσεως, Polit. l. 2. c. 3.
m Dem. p. 651. n. 13.
n Vlp. in Dem. p. 62. & 310.
o Pollux. l. 3. c. 3. p. 136.

Money; which that they might obtain the quicker, they wrote over their doore as we use to do, This House is to be Let. Which Custom *Menedemus* in *p Terence* expresses --*Inscripsi illico*, ÆDES MERCEDE) This writ was properly against Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, such as immediatly is before spoken) who having the charge upon them of tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore make known to the *Archon* that such a house was to be let, he then put it out upon some pledge for security. But if the house were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was suffered to remain void of a Tenent, to the loss of the Pupil, then was it lawful for any man to sue the Guardian in the *Archons* court, upon a Writ of Μισθώσεως οἴκου. Ἐπιτροπῆς, I have observed it to have been a custom among the Ancients, when they perceived themselves to draw near to death, to call for some one, to whose care they would commit their children, & delivering them into their hands, beseech them to have a tender eye over them, & to provide for them what should be most convenient; such as *Oedipus* in *q Sophocles* entreats of *Theseus* in behalf of his daughters. — Ὦ φίλον κάρα. Ἀλλ᾽ μοι χειρὶ δὸς πίστ᾽ ἀρχαίαν τέκνοις, Τιμῆς τι παῖδας, τῷ δὲ χ᾽ ἑκόντι σοῦ Μήποτε προδώσειν τάσδ᾽ ἐκών, πάλιν δ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἂν Μάλλον φρονῶν δὲ, ξυμβάλειν τ᾽ αὐτὰς ἐᾷν, Not unlike is that of the *r Comœdian* under the person of *Chrysis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*.

p Heaut. Act. 2. Sc. 1.

q Oedip. Col. p. 314.

r Ter. Andr. Act. 1 Sc. 5.

Accessi: vos semotæ: nos soli: incipit:
Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atque ætatem vides:
Nec clam te est, quàm illi nunc utraque inutiles
Et ad pudicitiam, & tutandum rem sient.
Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingenium tuum,
Per tuam fidem, perque hujus solitudinem
Te obtestor ne abs te hanc segreges, non deseras.
Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco;
Sive hæc te solum semper fecit maxumi,
Seu tibi matrigera fuit in rebus omnibus.
Te isti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:

Bona noſtra hæc tibi committo, & tuæ mando fidei.
Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, *mors continua ipſum occupat.*

But among the *Athenians* the uſe was to nominate in their Teſtaments and laſt Wills, whom they would have to be Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they ſhould defraud the Orphans of their patrimonie, or any part thereof, they were ſued with a writ ἐπιτροπῆς as *f Demoſthenes* did ſue his as ſoon as he came to age. But if the matter were not queſtioned within five years after the Pupil was admitted among the number of men, by the *t* Law, the Guardian could not be taxed. Ἀποστασίου, of a Maſter againſt a Servant ingrateful for his manumiſſion, not doing his duty to his Maſter. Becauſe, as *u Demoſthenes* witneſſes, it was the nature of Servants once made free, not only to be ingrateful, but alſo to hate their Maſters moſt of all men, as thoſe who had been conſcious to their ſervitude. It was enacted therefore that whoſoever was convicted of ingratitude ſhould again be made a bondſlave. **Valerius Maximus. Age quid de illud inſtitutum Athenarum, quàm memorabile? quòd convictus à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis exuitur;* The Romans did not only acquit them of the liberty of the City (which the *Athenians* gave not) but made them alſo ſlaves, which puniſhment they term *x Maximam capitis diminutionem.* Ζήτει. if any man put away his Wife, he was to reſtore her portion again; if he refuſed, he was ἐνέχεσθαι τοκοφορίαν, that is, every month for one pound to pay nine *obli*, which the *Atticks* term τόκους ἐπιδίκους, the Revenue of her dowry. The writ whereby he was ſued was ζήτει δίκη, for the repayment. ἔνοικα, if any went to Law, as claiming title of an houſe, he was firſt to ſerve him that dwelled in it with a Writ ἔνοικα, by which he demands the Rent for the time the Defendant had the houſe; if it were for any parcel of land, there was a writ καρπῶν given out, for the provent and fruit thereof; afterwards (in both caſes alike) they proceeded to an ἰσότιμον δίκην, in which they claimed right and title to the houſe or land. Although in theſe trials the *defendant* were

f Plut. in vita ejus.

t Demoſt. p. 724 l. 22.

u Pag. 465.

*** Lib. 2. c. 1. pag. 670.

x Juſtin. Inſt. l. 1. T. 16.

y Demoſth. p. 733.

z Dem. p. 655. n. 58.

were cast, yet could he keep justly either house or land: but if in a third trial, which they call ἔξωσις, he were overthrown, he was compelled to relinquish his possession. This ἔξωσις also is a Writ against all those that would cast an inhabitant out of his house, it being termed from ἐξωθεῖν, to throw forth. *a* It is also a Writ of Execution against any overthrown in the Court, and fined a thousand Drachmes, which at such a day he was to pay, and if he laid it not down upon the naile, there went forth a Writ ἔξωσις, to make entry upon the lands and possessions of him so cast. It is also a Writ against any who will not suffer him, who hath bought any thing of the publick to reap the fruit thereof. Who either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. Εἰς διαίρεσιν ἐξωσία. When two had been partners in estates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refused, he might be constrained to it by the Writ. Βεβαιώσεως, Because the Market place among the *Greeks* was the fittest to cheat & coosen in, as *Anacharsis* was wont to say, therefore the *Athenians* enacted that none should buy in the Market-place; to which the *Scythian* wiseman pointed likewise, saying, that they forbad to speak false, and yet did ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐξαπατᾶν ἀλλήλους if any man bargained for any thing, and another sued and doubted of the right of it, *c* he might require the seller to confirm the lawfulnesse of the thing sold, and maintain it against all controversie, otherwise the seller was liable to Βεβαιώσεως δίκη. For although in *Athens* they bought for the most part *Græcâ fide*, with ready mony; as *d Scaliger*, & *e Casaubon* truly interpret it, *f Turnebus*, *Repræsentatâ pecuniâ*: yet sometime gave they Earnest onely to make the thing sure, which the Greeks and Latines call *g* ἀρραβῶν, from the *Hebrew* ערב. This seems to me to have been the hundreth part of the mony which was to be paid for the thing bought, as *i Stobæus* out of *Theophrastus*. Where you may read likewise that it was the custome, when any thing was to be sold, to bring a note thereof to the Magistrate some threscore daies before. Εἰς ἡμερῶν πεντήκοντα πρᾶσις. For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a suit in Law; by *j Pollux* his words

a Vlpian in Dem. p. 340.

b Apud Laert. pag. 74.

c Pollux l. 8. c. 6. p. 385.

d In Auson. Lect. l. 2. c. 6.

e In Theoph. Char. p 312.

f Adversariorum l. 4 c. 13.

g Don. quod prius datur, ut reliquum red. datur. in Ter. Heaut. Act. 3. Sc. 3.

h Vide Disquis. in Basil. Sel.

i Sermone 42.

k Onomast. l. 8. c. 6 p 384.

words I may conjecture, goods or money privily taken away. Ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη. When any should offer to take another mans servant and make him free against the will of the Master which the Greek term *l* μὴ δικαίως ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολέσαι.

l Demost. p. 718. n 19.

Ἀμεισβήτησις is a suit about nearness of blood, in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without issue of his own body. Παραγραφὴ. When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritance of right, as near of blood, or upon some other conditions: from παραγραφὴ βάλλειν, because he laid down the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he were cast in Law, he was to pay, if the cause were private, sayes *m Budæus*: but if publick, the fift. *n* Διαμαρτυρία. When any shall protest that an inheritance doth hang in controversie, and is ἐπίδικος; as a true heir being still alive: of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Leocharet*. Ἔπιπληξις When any shall try to falsifie the διαμαρτυρία. Ἀναγκαῖοι. When men went to Law about kinred, as to prove themselves of such and such houses.

m Paud. Prio. p. 100.

n Dem. p. 620. n 78.

Here follow'th the terms promiscuous, private and publick, which are publick and lawful for any to prosecute. See Pollux p. 286.

Ἀπροστάτευτοι. All strangers in *Athens* were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons (as my most worthy Schoolmaster, the glory of his time *o* Mr *Matthew Bust* hath observed, whom for honours sake I name) or else they might be questioned, and if they were convicted their goods were sold and put into the City Treasury. Ἀχαριστία of ingratitude against those who shewed not themselves thankfull to those who had well deserved of them. ξενίας the same with ἀτιμίας, when any will reckon himself among the number of Citizens who never had been made free, by which he purchased imprisonment, until such times as there was a Court kept, and then he was sold. Μαρτυρία when a man is eye witnesse of a matter. Ἐκμαρτυρία, when another witnesses from the report of him that saw it. Ψευδομαρτύριον false witnesse, which to prosecute in Law they term ὀμοσάντος ψευδομαρτύριον. Λειπομαρτύριον, when one was eye-witnesse, and promised to testifie, yet would not appear at the appointed time, which they were wont to compel them to do, which they call κλητεύειν, after which citation the party

o In Epist. Dedic. suo Eucharistensi præfixa ad Richar Cantuariensem Archiepiscopū.

was

was to be at Court, or forswear that he saw not the matter, or was not present; otherwise he was to pay a thousand drachms, in which summe to be fined the *Attick* Lawyers give the appellation ἑκκαιδέκατα. Δῶρα γεγεῖν, When the Judges were corrupted with Bribes. Δεῖξις, against those that did corrupt them. Ἀργία of a man convinced of idleness; which once taken, *Draco* punished the delinquent with loss of the City priviledges: *Solon*, not unless he were thrice delinquent. Δειλοναυτία, When any of the Marriners ran away from their ships. Δειλοστρατία, When the Marriners that stayed in the Ships would not fight, if occasion required. Ψευδογραφῆς, when one would falsly accuse; there was likewise against them a Writ ἐπιβολῆς. Ψευδοκλητείας, Against those that unjustly cite to the Court. Παραξενίας when any is accused of encroaching into the number of Citizens, and gives gifts to escape free. παρανόμων, when any was accused of making a Decree or Law contrary to former statutes. This accusation was called γραφὴ, because the accuser swore that it was against the Lawes, or unjust, or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. Δοκιμασία, was an examination of the Magistrates whether they were fit to govern or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Lust, and Incontinency; whether they had not spent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their Parents, or led a life any otherways blameable; whereupon they were discarded the priviledges of the City, and not suffered to plead, or speak publickly. Εὐθύνη, An account of the publick offices borne, laying out of mony, and dispatching Ambassages, made to the Tenne *Logistæ*, (For the breach of which went out a Writ, Λογίαν λόγον διδόναι, *Rationem reddere*) if concerning injuries given to the Judges. Προβολὴ an accusation against those who are ill-affected toward the Common-wealth, made by the decree of the people, and such as are well willers to the state. Προβολαὶ likewise are accusations against men injurious, ὑβρισταῖς, [p] and such as are delinquent against the festivirals, as the oration of *Demosthenes* against *Midias*. Πρωμοσία, An oath which the Accuser took, that

[p] Lib. Arg. Midiom.

q Vlpian in Dem. 226.

ne would justly accuse. q Ἀπωμοσία, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. Ἐξωμοσία, an oath of Ambassadors or men chosen for state service, that by reason of sickness they cannot give attendance. They may do it by a proxie, if they please. It is likewise the Oath of one called to witness, wherein he swears that he knows nothing of the business. Ἀπωμοσία, when others shall swear that pretended weakness, was only a shift to put of the burthen of publick office which the State laid on them. Τπωμοσία, an accusation of a Law or decree unprofitable, against the motioner, as above said, παρανομῶν, and παρανομία, when a man shall object a case not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be such and such, and not as it is. ex: gr: for a man that runs away from the Army, which is λιποστρατίου, and I accuse him of leaving his ranck, to wit λιποταξίου; or objection of the time past, within which space the suit was to be commenced; or that it should be handled in such a Court, and not in such; as wilful Murther in *Areopagus*, not *Palladium*: by which evasion if the case fell, it was termed ἀγραφὴ δίκη. Ἀντιγραφὴ, when he that is sued puts a Bill against the plaintiff in like manner. But if the defendant (I call ἀντιγραφόμενον so) were cast, he paid ἐπωβελίου.

r Vlpian in Dem. 334.

r Μὴ ἔνδικα, when a man is summoned to answer before the Arbitri of a controversie, if he swear that he is sick, or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was cast in ἐρήμῃ, *Eremodicio*, as if he scorned to come, or were obstinate: he ought within ten daies to sue out μὴ ἔρημα; wherein he reproved the sentence and made it of no effect, so as it came to its first state again. But if he could not obtain a μὴ ἔρημα, having before sworn that he would stand to the award of the Judges, their determination stood in full strength and power, and he was constrained to pay 100 Drachms (as *s Vlpian*) which was the mulct appointed by the law; for the discharge whereof he put in good security. Ἀντιλαγχάνου δίκαι, When any was absent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to answer thereunto, he was fined,

s In Dem. p. 340.

ned, as conscious of *Eremodicium*; and if within the space of two Months he did not renew the suit (which is δὶς λαγχάνειν δίκην) he was sure to pay the fine. Ἐπιζήμια, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, and publickly sold, somewhat as debt to him, or say that part belongs to him, the state would narrowly search into it; which thing they term ἐπιζήμια. Πρόκλησις, is a citing one before the *Archon* in controversy about the inheritance, or a Virgin left inheretrix. Now if the plaintiff did not warn the defendant † ὁμολογησάμενον, the suit dyed; and such actions are called ἀνωμοτὶ δίκαι. ‡ Πρόκλησις, is as letting a case fall, or dissolving it upon some witness, oath or confession extorted by torments, and the like. Ἔφεσις, is an appeal from one Court to the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate again, or from their Judicatories at home to some forrainers in another country. Ἀπωμοσία δίκη when there is no more fine laid upon a man than what his adversary did ὀμόσαι, write down at the lower end of his Inditement, of which custom somewhat hath before been spoken. Βολίτου δίκη, Against such as stole Ox-dung out of their neighbours lands; whence of those that are put in the Court for trivial matters the Proverb ‖ Βολίτου δίκην. Ἀσεβείας of impiety against their Gods, as *Aristotle* for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Atharnenses*, which he engraved on a statue at *Delphos*. For revealing mysteries, or imitating them, as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death, as on the contrary the accuser, if he got not the better. προδοσία, of being false to the state, the punishment was death; and after that, they should be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. * ἀγωγεῖα, If any owed to the City Treasury, and his name were registred, and before the discharge of the mony his name were blotted out, they sued him before the *Thesmotheta* ἀγωγεῖα; but if his name was never entered, he was prosecuted by an ἔνδειξις. Μεταλλικαὶ proper only to such as dealt in the Mines, like to Stannaries in the County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devonshire* her sister.

‡ Dem.p.923.

‖ Arist.Sch.p.8. 28.Laert in vit.

* Dem.cont. Theocr p.7. 13.n.76.77.

x Dem. cont. Pentx. p. 567. n 51, 52.

x Lyable to this court were they who should thrust any man from his work; who should digge within another mans liberties; who should bring weapons thither, I suppose to take away Minerals by violence; who should kindle any fire in the Mines; &c. Who should offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth; which to do was death, as *y Plutarch* tells us. There was likewise ἀγεδίου μισθώσεως against the labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new work, were to acquaint the overseers appointed for that end by the people, that the four and twentieth part of the new coin might come to the publick Treasury. Now if any presumed to work who had not made it known to the officers it was lawfull for any to accuse him ἀγεδίου μισθώσεως. Ἀφορμῆς δ'. About mony put out to the mony changers. *z* For ἀφορμὴ among the *Atticks* is the same that ὑθήκη in the Lawyers of latter time, *in Jure Græc. Rom.* Sometimes indeed they used ἀφορμὴ for meanes, and sustenance. *a* σφόλὴ εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Καταδικάσας and καταδικασάμενος have this difference, that *b* καταδικάσας is the Judge that gives sentence, καταδικασάμενος is he that put in the controversie, to be the means that the sentence past against the defendant. *c* Ἀπορία is when a man deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to discharge all; and therefore desires the People that a part thereof might be remitted.

y In vitis Dem. Rhet. p. 455. f

z Argum Phorm. Orat. p. 554.

a Sch. Eurip. Med. p 368.

b Ulpian in Med p. 368.

c Idem in Dem. p. 450.

LIB.

LIBER QVARTVS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus, & Amoris.

CAP. I.

De Venere & Cupidine.

THE People of *Athens* had their habitation too near the Sea, to keep their affections far from her that rose of the *Foam*. For that they were devoted to the service of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein she was courted, and the over favourable name of ἑταίρα, will sufficiently testifie. One of those Temples was for *Venus* Οὐρανία a (*ß dijs placet*) a name better becoming one of the Muses, *b* or the play with the ball, than her: and the other, for *Venus* Πάνδημος; which two names put me in mind of an excellent saying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning Καλὸς ἱερόσυλον, and Καλὸς πάνδημον· Δύο γὰρ ἐγὼ νομίζω τὰς ἐνθρώπους κάλλη πλανᾶσθαι, Τὸ μὲν ἱερόσυλον, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον, ὅσπερ τῶ κάλλει αἱ ἑταῖραι δοκοῦσι. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἱερόσυλον ἀχθὲν ταῖς ὑπὸ σηπτῷ κάλλεσι δεδιμένον, ἐζήτει ποδὶ ἱερῶν ταχὺ φυγεῖν. Τὸ δὲ πάνδημον ἅπτεται κάτω, καὶ ἐγχωρίζει περὶ τοῖς σώμασι. A saying good enough for a Christian, and a Bishop such as *Suidas* reporteth him to have been. But *à diverticulo*. The sacrifices of the first Temple, were Ἁγνότερα, with a little more state and chastity than became her; but those of the last, βαλανηγότερα, as *caste*, and as wicked as her self: For every farthing Strumpet, might by *Solon's* own appointment prostitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the Κεραμεικὸς, *c* or the Σκίρου (those Καταγεῖα Ἀφροδίσια) or any other of the places abused to lust. Nay those *sinks*, (*d* besides *places* for the purpose) had *garments* also for the purpose, and flowers on the garments too, Τὰ Ἀνθινὰ, *floridas vestes*, apparel fit for such *Flora's* as wore them. The Rites of her service the Athenians are said to have received from the *Phœnicians*, the *Phœnicians* from the *Cypri-*

a *Pausanias.*
b ἑταῖρα, a Play so called.
c *Pausanias.*
d *Cloacæ.*

e Cœl. Rhod. *ans*, the *Cyprians* from the *Assyrians*, *Fides penes Authorem sit.* The fashion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians* (*viz.*) with a head, and all like a man as far down as the girdle, and all the rest like a woman (to shew she had a place in the *Ditches* too *f* as well as in the *Sinks*, and patroniz'd lust to either of the Sexes) insomuch that many have been scrupulous whether they should call her *Deum* or *Deam*; for there is one that says,

f Inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinœdos Juven. Sat. 2.

——*Pollentemque Deum Venerem*, Which *Macrobius* himself commends for the best, and therefore in *Virgil*, Æn. 2. v. 632. reads.

Discedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hostes
Expedior — and not *Dea*, and so *Aristophanes* calls her Ἀφρόδιτον, in the *masculine gender*. But, now this makes more work, and therefore (to plaister two walls with one pot full of plaistering) they made it a custom, *ei sacrificium* facere viros cum veste muliebri, Mulieres cum virili. Quod eadem & Mar, & fœmina æstimaretur, for the men to sacrifice to her in womens apparel, and women in mens.* If it be so, you may say *Aphroditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you please. I read of no such thing concerning *Minerva*: onely the *g* Poet (because she was such a *Virago*) honours the Manhood of the Goddess with a τῇ θεῷ; as *Theocritus h* does *Hecate*, with ὦ θεὸς ὦ τελέθοις an *appellative* of the *masculine gender*. Nor is it enough that the Mother is thus religiously wooed and adored, but the *blind paultry Boy* will be crying for a Temple too. And if *Her* due be a *Cow*, certainly *His* cannot be less than a *Calf*. neither was it,

* Philochorus, cited by Macrobius.

g Aristoph. Ἀκ. 5 sc. 2. In Βαρμακεῖ ℣. 5.

Ῥέξω τόρτιν Ἔρωτι ᾧ ὠτὴ Βοῦν Ἀφροδίτᾳ,

sayes *Theocritus*: and *Amori Litari* to sacrifice to *Amor* or *Cupid* is common in *Apuleius*. Methinks he might have been content to sit still in his Mothers Temple (where he was lovely Pourtraicted by *Zeuxes*, and crowned with flowers) and have soard* with his wings no higher. But the Temple of Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of Ἰύγγος, do more than whisper what cause he had to be so proud, and how amorous, his People has been.

h Alatus.

CAP.

CAP. II.

De Pederastia

TO omit the *Tribades* and the Abominations of the Women one with another, changing τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν, εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν [i] *Ep. ad Rom. c. 1. v. 26.* τὴν κατὰ φύσιν εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν *for the natural use into that which is against nature,* give me leave to speak a little of their παιδικὰ, or παιδικὰ ἔρωτα, and the Ἀφροδίσια [k] practised by Men upon their own Sex. The first that ever taught

——*Amores*
In teneras transferre mares ——

(if we may believe *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholar of his the Roman was, *Lippis & Tonsoribus notum*. And for the *Greeks*, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Persians* deriv'd the infection from them, which I am apt enough to believe, when I read those words of *Cornelius Nepos*, *Laudi in Græcia ducitur adolescentulis, quam plurimos habere Amatores,* in one place, and those concerning *Alcibiades* in another, *Inunte adolescentiâ amatus est à multis more Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himself afterwards was more than *Pathicus* in that *double-Cappa-roguery* as well as [m] *Pausanias*, or [n] *Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail* [o] *Sectaries*. The *Grecians* (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Aristot.* say true, made a Law for toleration of it. The [p] *Megarenses* had their *Kissing-matches*, when he that could kiss sweetest was led away in pomp *Corollis unctus*: only thus much is said in commendation of the *Lacedæmonians* & the *Athenians*, that [q] confined the Lust to the person of a slave. Nay [p] *Ælian* (who makes bold to vary from other authors in several relations) goes farther, and saies Ἔνιοι καὶ περὶ Ἄνδρα ἐν Κρήτῃ, but how true that is, I know not: I am sure their παιδικὰ, and οἱ παιδεραστικοὶ λόγοι, tell in *plain song*, what they loved: though I confess I have found no such feats among them, as that of [q] *Achilles* in Murthering *Troilus* for refusing to submit

[i] *Initio lib. de Exter. Imp.*
[m] *Æmil. Prob.*
[n] *Plato in Symp.*
[o] *Socratici Dialogi.*
[p] *Athenæus.*
[q] *L. 3. Var. Hist. c. 12.*
[q] *Lycoph.*

ſubmit to his luſt. One word more and I have done. He that was inſpired with ſuch a love as this, (as if they had uſed the trick of *r Pyramus* and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedæmonians* had the name of ἱππύλος or ἱππωνύλος or rather ἱππωνύλας, as *Callimachus* hath it.

r *Inque vices ſuerat captatus anhelitus oris.*

Μέμβλετο δ' ἱππύλης ὁππότις Κῦρος ἴοι.

By which word) ſayth the *Etymologicall Dictionary*) is denoted ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι (or rather ἐρώντι) ἱππωνύμῳ, one *inſpired*, ſhall I ſay, or *beloved*, for ſo ſignifieth the word at *Sparta* (*viz.*) to love a boy ſo *perdite*, as to *blow in his lower end*, (as we ſay) to *ſpit in his mouth*, or give him *Manſum ex ore*, take the Authors own words for't in the place above quoted. Λάκωνες γὰρ λέγουσι τὸ ἐρᾶν ἱππιᾶν αὐτοῖς. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ εἰσι ἡ φωνὴ ἐξ ἧς ἔστιν λέγεσθαι, and ſo *Heſychius* ſaies of ἐμπτεῖν too, ἐμπτύειν, ἐρᾶν, φιλεῖν. This was all (as he ſaies) or (as I ſay) it ought to have been all; for a man *may love his houſe well enough, though he do not ride upon the ridge.* However, I muſt confeſs they had ſo much care ſtill of the *Commonwealth*, notwithſtanding their *private pleaſures*, as not to give a voice to one whom they knew to be guilty of ſo much *Mollities*, as to *ſcratch his head with one finger*. Inſomuch that if any had ſued for an office to give a teſtimony of his *virtue* and manlike diſpoſition, he was fain to lift up his arms, and ſhew his hair in his Arm-pits.

—— —— Χειροτονητόν.

Ἐξωμισάμενος ἐπιδεῖξαι δασύχοιρα. ſaies *Ariſtophanes*.

And good reaſon for this practice, for,

Duræ per brachia ſetæ
Promittunt atrocem animum — * ſaies *Juvenal*

* Sat. 2.

therefore the Woman *f* that deſired to be taken for a Man thought this the beſt Argument ſhe could uſe

f Apud Ariſtop.

— ἐρῶτον μ' ἔχω τὰς μασχάλας
Λοχμὰς ἀκουτίρας.

Whereas on the contrary, thoſe that had the ſore-head to *ſeem*, as they *were*, effeminate, uſed the ſame tricks which the *Romans* are ſaid to have uſed (for which ſervice they had their ἀλωπεκίσται, or *alipilarios*) to pull away their hair, and be as ſmooth as they could.

But

But I have said too much of so odious a Love *as should not indeed be named among us*. I will now proceed to speak of a chaster *Venus* (notwithstanding that *Menelaus* in *Achilles* preferred the former) *Quæ primis rerum exordiis sexuum diversitatem generato amore sociavit*, as *u Apuleius* said in his Prayer.

u Metam. l. 11.

CAP. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

WHen first they listed themselves into the service (for *Militat omnis amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) some of them made it such a solemn business, as to be formally initiated like so many Priests.

Αρ' ὧμας Αφροδίτη μυσταγωγήσει: saies *Clitophon* to *Leucippe*. Ἐπὶ σῷ Σεβλῳ τετιμήσην ἐγὼ ἔρωτα, saies *Ismenius x* to his Mistress, alluding (it may be) to such Books as the old fellow brought forth to *Apulcius*, *y Literis ignorabilibus prænotatos*,

† Achil. l. 2.
x Eustath. l. 5.
y Loco ante laudato.

Well, it seems *Venus* had her z μυστικὰ too, as well as *Ceres*, for her Priests, though they were not under an enjoyned silence, as the others were, yet the greatest part of their tatling was under the Rose.

z Hieroglyphicis.

Conscius omnis abest, Nutu signisque loquuntur. And therefore *Cupid* had not the name of a *Whisperer*, ψίθυρος, for nothing; seeing speaking through the teeth, and *whispering* thorow the walls, like *Pyramus b* and *Thisbe*, was so commonly used by his followers. Such as that ψιθύρισμα δόλου in *Euripides*, *succrotilla vocula Feminina fabulare c* *succrotillâ vocula*, saies one. Ἀραιοθυμίᾳ τὸ πιστὸν χαίρει τὸ ψιθύρισμα, *d* saies another, of *Ismene*. And not only their words, but every thing they did was by stealth, for what were all their pleasures but *furta*? What is *Cupid* but a *Thief*? No wonder then if Lovers used to worship the Moon; and the Night be the blind boyes Holy-day. *f* Καλῶν δὲ Νύξ, saies one (like that of the Scholiast upon *Theocritus* Νὶ γὰρ καλὸν ἐρᾷς ἐρᾷς σιγῇ, ἢ νυκτὸς) for the greatest part of their employments were not

a Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 4.
b Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab. 4.
c Titinius.
d Eustath.
e Theocritus saies he stole honycombs. *Id.* 20.
f Eurip.

able to look upon the Sun. Yet *Pindar* as I take it, saies the custom was, for the Man to worship the Sun, and the Woman the Moon. It may be the mans aime *g* was to have the Suns help in bringing Adulteries, and the Womans the Moons, in bringing her *h* Children to light.

g Venerem cum Marte deprehendit. Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab. 6.

h Luna parturientibus adest

Besides these, Θεὸς ὁ Πὰν ἐμπνεῖ, *i Pan* had his worship too. But for any thing I can perceive (though some of them it may be, were of *Theocritus* his mind,

i Longus in Pastoral. l. 2.

—Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς οἶδε διαίζειν) whatsoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they took the liberty and looseness in such businesses to *swear* and *forswear*, as fast as they lifted, whiles *Jupiter* stood by and laught—*Perjuria ridet amantûm.* insomuch that Ἀφροδίσιος ὅρκος, a *Love Oath*, became but a proverb at last; as being accounted ἐκ ἀμεταμέλητος, not deserving punishment, if it were taken: nay if *Plato* (in *Ephebo*) say truth, ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ταῖς περὶ τὰ Ἀφροδίσια, ᾗ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια συγχωρῶν ἐλάττω ἁμαρτάνειν, the Gods gave them leave: as having done *hæc eadem Jovemus, the same themselves once: and none can play the* k *knave better than an Abbot that hath been a Monk.*

k French Proverb.

CAP. IV.

De Amoris Judiciis.

NOw to know whether such an one were in Love or not (though they say, *Love and the Cough can never be hid*) at the keeping of a feast, they took special notice of the *untying of his Garland* (as we use to do of the Garter) making it a fore-runner of that of the *Zona*. But I take too much upon me to determine so soon of the reason, for *l Athenæus* saies it hath both a riddle a thousand years before his time, and propounded at their merry meetings, διὰ τί τὰ στεφανώματα τῶν ἱερῶν λύεται τῶν ἐρωτικῶν λύεται, and he himself hath served up no less than eight other reasons, but I know never a one better than another to give you a taste. Another signe that they were in love was the *tinkling of the Ear*, whence that of *Sappho*, ἐμοὶ δ' ἔμμορε τὰν ἁβρὰν and *Catullus*,

l Lib. 15. Deipnos.

—*Sonitu*

——Sonitu suopte
Tintinant aures. —— To know whether the party lov'd did love again, they took a leaf (whether of *Poppey*, or what it was I know not) they called it τάλαριλον *quasi* δηλάριλον ὅτι τὸ δηλοῦσι τὸ φιλεῖν) and putting it on the forefinger, and the thumb of the left hand (as our children use to do with us) struck it with the right: If it gave a crack they rejoyced, if not a sigh; out alass!

* Οὐδὲ τὸ Ταλάριλον πότι μαστιώσιον πλατίσσειν; saies *Theocritus Idyll.* 3. So at their Feasts they had a trick, to fasten a long stick in the ground with another upon it (in the fashion of the cross Beam of a Ballance) with a pair of Scales hanging to it. Under the Scales stood a couple of Bowls filled with water, and under the water a statue of Brass, guilded and called by the name of Μάνης (n once the name of a Servant) now the manner was for such as were in Love (with the same woman as I think) and would willingly know their fortune who should carry it, to take each his phial of Brass (τὸ κότταβον) to stand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he listed, with a sudden turn of the hand (ἀπὸ σκώλου they call it, and thence Κότταβοι ἀγχόλιστοι) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown, they called λατάγιον from λατάξ, the *clat* or the sound that it gave in the fall: Now he that could do this so well, as to make his scale sink, and strike the image hardest on the head (ὡς μὲ χυθῆ τῶν οἴνου, so that some of the Wine leapt out upon him, saith the Scholiast, presumed presently upon the love of his Mistress, and had his Κοτταβεῖον or his Cake (the usual reward of victory in most of their Playes) for his labour, sometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good flash, it was counted as lucky, for a Lover, as the *crack of the leaf*. Thus to drink and play, they called Κοτταβίζειν (as Κοτταβὸς was the name of the cup and the play too) and seldom a drinking match without it.

* Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Κοτταβίζειν
Συβαϊτίζειν

* *Theocritus Idyll.* 3.

m *Aristoph. Schol. in Pace.*

n *Id in Acharn.*

Ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ γέγονεν

Saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* Gambol they are ashamed to own themselves, and therefore turnd it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might speak more of κίναβος, were it either fitter for the present discourse, or not spoken of so largely, and by so many, as *Athenæus*, *Rhodiginus*, and others already. Let it suffice only to have minded you of the folly so usual among Lovers in those times according to that of *Callimachus*.

Παλαιὸς ὁ μιλίσκος, ἀλλ' ἴσον ἤκει ἐπ' ἐμοί
Οἷος πρὸς Σικελὸς ἐς κυλίκων λάταγας.

CAP. VI.

De Philtris & incantamentis.

BUT what if she could not be wooed over by fair means: was there then never an arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a jugling trick to bewitch her? Yes, but first they must get something or other of hers into their possession, and work upon that, according to the Nurses advice to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolytus*.

Δεῖ δ' ὅ τι ἐκείνου δὴ τόδ' ἐσδεδεγμένον
Σῆμ' ἐστὶν, ἢ λόγου τιν' ἢ πέπλου ἅπτε-
σθαιῶν σωφρονεῖν ἐπιστρέψαι χρεών.

Euripides Hipp. v. 512.

And if they could come to the sight of her, your *illiberi oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a safcination. ὀφθαλμὸν πνεύσαντος ἀπειπεῖν, he threw a *sheeps eye* at her (saith * *Heliodorus*) The Proverb that *Love comes in at the window, and goes out at the Door*, may not absurdly be understood of the *Eyes*, which *Maximus Tyrius* cals θύρας καὶ φυχῆς, the Doors of the Soul, which seem to be the way, and the passage by which the two loves go in and out. ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδὸς ἔρωτος, saith *Musæus*: or if you will the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the *heart*. Ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνάπτει τὸ ἔρωτα, saith * *Eustathius*; and so * *Lucian* makes the *sight* the first step * in *Cupids* ladder of Love. To try,

* Lib. 4.

* Lib 3.
* in ἔρωσι.
* Oculi sunt in amore duces.

try therefore what this card could do, they would go to the house where she lived, and the fashion being for the Daughter οἰνοχοεῖν to fill drink to the Stranger; (as *Sostenes* commanded his daughter to do to *Ismenias*) after the old folk had drunk, when it came to their Mistresses to drink to them, they observed at what part of the cup she drank, to be sure to drink at the same, according to that of the Poet.

Hæc primus rapias illius tacta labellis.
Pocula; quæque bibit parte Puella, bibe.

a Ovid. de Arte Am. l. 11.

Forsooth they thought thus to have a kiss *mediate* at the second hand wasted over in the cup, ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ φίλημα, *Aristænetus* calls it, not to *kiss the cup*, but *cup the kiss*.

Nam transmissa tuis ad me fert suavia labris
Ille Calix.

Saith *Scaliger* translating that verse,

Προπίδοι δ' ἐμοὶ γαῦλιξ περὶ σὸν τὸ φίλημα. Such a kiss they used to call ἀποστελλόμενον φίλημα (*missivum osculum*, or a kiss conveighed in a cup, like words in a Letter) as both *Achilles* and *Eustathius* do. And by this time they have seen whether they can do any thing or nothing by the eye. Next they will try what they can do with the Tongue, by *enchanting songs and tales*; or by the Hand, with *Gifts*, and *Philtres*; ἐὰν δὲν πολλὰ φίλτρα τις ἐμπλέῃ, ἢ ἴυγγα, says *Xenophon*: Ἴυγξ more especially is the name of a Bird (whether it be *torquilla*, or *regulus*, or *passerculus*; the last is most likely because of its salacity) whose tongue they made use of to such purposes, putting it under the Knop of her Ring with the paring of her nailes.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for such a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Echo* saies *Callimachus*) because she bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the same name, and of a making very suitable to her former condition, and the uses for which she serves. For, (according to the *Scholiast* upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck and tongue, continually wagging both the head,

and the tail; and punished she is enough for her Roguery, for (besides that way I told you of before) sometimes they ty'd her ἐν τροχῷ to a wheel (as I think) and chanted a charm as they whirld it round. sometimes (at least the entrails) to a τροχὸς of wax, causing both together to consume in the fire. But what will you say, if all this while it be nothing but an instrument pleasantly run'd and playd? as some say it is, and that it is therefore commonly used for any pleasant thing or inticement. Ἴυγγι δαμάσαι τινά, saies *Pindar, or any other Magical Love toy, such as *Ungues*, muscels, wreathed fillets, hair, and bands of twisted wool, and divers other gambols of the same bran according to that which I have seen of *Lælius* an ancient Poet.

*Nem Od 4. vid. Theoc. Pharmacen Lustrate prope finem.

Trochisci, Ungues, tænia
Aurea, Illices bitortila.

With no stronger chains than those of *twisted Wool* (* τριπλοΐοις *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturn* reported to have been bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him down. I can rather believe that all the Gods had *laneos pedes, woolen feet*, as the proverb saies they had, than that any of them should have *Laneas pedicas, woollen fetters*. And yet that dull and lazie old dotard, could be content to lie fast in those bands all the year long, till the Month *December*, when he had his liberty, because of the *Saturnalia*, which *Papinius* therefore calls *Saturni compedum exolutum*: I refer you for the reason to *Macrobius Saturn.* 1. c. 8. Though I believe they intended no other than a Magicall tie upon the affection of the party. Yet they seem to have made use of *Wool*, rather than any other thing, because it was so much in fashion in such kind of matters; for first, the girdle the woman used to wear, was made of *wool*, twisted and tyed with an *Hercules*, or a *True-Lovers* knot, not to be untyed but in the *Genial bed*. Then the doors of the Bride-house, and the posts of the doors, were bound about with woolen filletings, and the Wife was to sit upon a fleece for a Cushion. Yet how they used this τριπλοΐον ἔριον I cannot tell; whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that,

*not στεπτὸν.
*περὶ πομμ.

Σπένδω

† Τετρίτ. Pharmacen.

Or about the Bay which they burnt; or in some other way. But thus much I have observed of their ordinary practises in such Rogueries (too common with the women in these times) that what ever was done to the things which they used, they imprecated the same, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to represent. Thus a *Althæa* burnt *Meleager* out in the brand. Thus *Juno* tied up b *Alcmena's* womb, *Digitis inter se pectine junctis*. I know not how. Thus c *Simætha* (to come nearer home) angry with *Delphis* for want of his love, would have scattered his bones in the meal, burnt his flesh in the Bay, melted him away in the Wax, or have had him tumble to her door in the Brazen Bowl, and have killed him with kindness. Every one of which practises was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the *Moon* for successe, as things that were fit to be done neither by *day*, nor *above ground*. Infinite more were the tricks they used to make a man to love them, such as d *Philostratus* speaks of in his *Epistles*, [illegible]. The [illegible], may be thought to be the *Cerussa*, τὸ ῥυπαρὸν, otherwise [illegible], *Malitia*, &c. *Bombycina*, a kind of *Supparus*, or a garment that hid the body so that it might be seen, *haut secus per Bombycina corpus, ac si Marigill*, such Women used in e [illegible]. *Quæ transmittendæ in oculos puellarum Deliciæ, & Pannicula bombycina unit.* It had the name [illegible] (saith b *Pollux*) and are like to be *Lacinia*, such as the *Thessalian* would have used in a potion, but that when they take them for the [illegible] and the golden fetters I suppose to be stronger than woollen. But besides all these; there was μηλοβολία, feats to be done by the throwing of an Apple *Cydonium malum* I mean, reported to grow in the garden of *Venus*, and used at Weddings (as shall be shown hereafter). Thus when *Cydippe* was i sitting in the Temple of *Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his apple

a *Ovid. Metamor. lib. 8. fab. 4.*
b *Ovid. Met. lib. 9 fab 5.*
c *Theoc. Pharmac.*
d Lib. 8 Ep. 68.
e *Pollux.*
f Lib. 8 Ep. 6.
g *Juvenal. Sat. 6.*
h *lib. 7. c. 17. Petulans, malus Thessalus*
i *Aristæn. lib. 1. Ep. 10.*

ple with this Inscription, Μὴ ἐμὲ ἔρημον Ἀταλάντῃ χάριμα, or if you had rather have Latine,

Ne me tibi sanctæ mysticæ sacra Dianæ,
Ne tibi venturam comitem sponsamque futuram.

And so made her think shee took, when she did but read the oath. And thus * *Hippomanes drew back Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples. Nay, if they bit off a piece, and threw it, it was enough: which made *k Philenis*, being jealous of her sister *Thelxinoe* complain of *Pamphilus* his throwing a piece of an Apple in her lap. The *l* women of *Thessalie* are especially noted for cunning women at this work, being able (as he sayes) μαγεύειν ἄνωθεν, ὥστε μὴ φέρειν τὸν ἥλιον ἢ ἀνθρώπους ἀνελεῖν χωρίς ξιφῶν, &c. And so for the women of *Egypt* (I think the sex hath still the Monopoly of Magick) however the *Egyptian m* Souldier came to mistake in the *Dosis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the potion. For instead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her wits, as *Cæsonia* did her Husband *n Caligula* with an *Hippomanes*. Those φίλτρα, or Love potions, were commonly made of the juyce of such herbs as disposed the body to Venerie, such as the σατύριον (rendered *Pastinaca*) called by way of excellency, τὸ φίλτρον, ὅτι διεγερτικὸν τῶν πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην, saies *Eustathius*. *Plutarch* (if I mistake not) in his Γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα, expresses his dislike of those courses. But what? was there never a way to *unwitch* the party again? (for I heard of some that can do this who cannot do the other) yes, either by taking counterfeit Physick (as *Leucippe* did) or by washing it away in the River *Selemnis*, as (*Pausanias* saies) they used to do in *Achaia*; or else by Sacrifices or Charmes, according as they imagined the cause. Whence those words of the * Nurse to *Myrrha* incited by the furies, and not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her own father.

Seu Furor est, habeo quod Carmine sanet, & herbis:
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico lustrabere ritu:
Ira Deûm sive est, sacris placabimus iram.

* Ovid. Met. l. 10. fab. 11.
k. Arist. lib. 1. op. 25.
l Achil. Tat. *l* 5. Thessala vendit Philtra. Juvenal.
m Corgias apud Tat. l. 4.
n Suetonius.
* Ovid. Met. l. 10. fab. 9. v. 397.

CAP

CAP. VI.

De Usitato more significandi amorem.

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a natural heate (as indeed the Soul is naturally inclined * ὥσπερ αἱ σπινθῆρες, ἢ διαπηδῶσι, ἢ μαραίνονται, πρὸς τὰ φίλτρα, to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care those Grecian Women had of their Sweet-hearts. Insomuch, that if you call to mind some of their choicest expressions thereof (especially that of *Ariadne* to *Theseus*) you cannot but be of * *Plutarchs* mind, in approving the definition given by some of the old Philosophers, who said that it is. θεῶν ἀπορρητία περὶ ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ συνουσίαν γυναικός. Not to tell you, that sometimes they sent a wooing to the men; pray take but a taste of their customes in this particular of expressing their love: To trim up their bodies as they did their *own a* with flowers (like a *May-maid*) or hang up Garlands at their doors (or τὰ ἐκθυρία the parts of the house exposed to sight when the doors were open, ἐκθύρια ἴσως ἀπὸ τοῦ παίεσθαι, sayes *Hesychius*) was an ordinary care's, though indeed (as *b Athenæus* sayes) they intend it chiefly to the honour of Ερως. τὸ οὖν τοῦ Ἔρωτος ἀγώνισμα, τοῦτο ἡ ναὸν ὄντα, καὶ οἴκησιν ποιοῦσι, as making the body of a Sweet-heart the Image, and his house the Temple of Love. The tokens they usually sent were Garlands and Roses; τὰ στεφάνια μοι καὶ τὰ ῥοδοπέμματα (says *Petala* to *Simaleon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) sometimes bitten pieces of Apples, μῆλα ἐκδεδηγμένα (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with those expressions in fashion among the Romans, when they sate at Table, *viz.* leaving drink in the cup, and giving morsels of meat, such as *c Martial* would have *Pontia* send him, rather than a whole legge, or the like, or such as *d Ovid* speaks of,

Si tibi fortè dabit, quos pragustaverit ipse,
Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.

But I must tell you S. *Hieromes* censure, *degustatos cibos blandosque*

* Plut. in Solon.

* In vita Thes.

a Eustath. Ism.

b L. 15.

c L. ep. 7.

d Amor. l. El. 4.

e De vita Clericis, ad Nepotian

doſque, ac dulces literulas ſanctus amor non habet, it ought not to be ſo amongſt you, *Symmachus* upon theſe words of the *Birds* in *Ariſtophanes* χ, ηίζειν ἀλλήλοις σύνηθες, ſays, they were wont to gratify one another with Birds, ſuch as Doves, and the εἶδος and the like. But theſe expreſſions I weigh but little, when I obſerve that ſcarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ὅτου τύχοι ſaith the *Scholiaſt*) was paſſed by without writing thereon the name of the party, in this form ὁ δεῖνα καλὸς, or καλὸς, for the word κάλος among the *Grecians* ſignified *amaſium*, *a Womans word*, like τῦτο in *Theocritus*.

f Diog. Laer. in Diadero.

Ἰύγξ ἕλκε τὸ τῆνον ἐμὸν πρὸς δῶμα τὸ ἀνδρὸς.

Inſtead whereof (ſay ſome) you ſhall read κῦμος in the *Comedian in Veſpis*, but I ſee no ſuch need of a correction, for he ſpeaks of the Lawyer that was ſo much in love with the imployment of the Court, that the κῦμος *a* (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one ſuch thing or other ran ſtill in his mind, and therefore (ſaith he)

a Vid. p. 118.

—ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐγγεγραμμένον
Τὸν πινακίδιον ἔφερε δῆμον καλόν,
Ἐνεγεγλυμμένον πλησίον κῦμος καλός.

In like manner the men deale with the names of their *Miſtreſſes*, which they wrote ſometimes upon the very leaves of the Trees according to that of *Callimachus*,

Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν φύλλοισι τοσαυτάκις ὄνομα τεῦξαι
Ἔσχατον, Κυδίππης ἄρσεν ἐπεὶ Καλλὸς.

Let on the leaves ſo many letters lie,
As my *Cydippe Fair* may ſignify.

which puts me in mind of what *Lucian* in his Ἔρωτες ſays of one that was ready to die with the love of *Cnidia Venus*, Τοῖχος δὲ καὶ ξύλον ἦν, ἢ πάνυ μαλακὸν Ἦν ἢ φλοιὸς ἀνεῖτο καλὴν ἐπιγραφὴν, not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a bark of a tree but what proclaimed VENUS FAIR. How glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worn them in their Hats as we do? but no wonder they did as they did, having a *copy* written to them by Nature (for

—*Inſcripti*

——*Inſcripti nomina regum*
Naſcuntur flores ——) and an *example* given them by *Apollo* himſelf, who when he turned *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the ſame name to keep his *memory* alive, when he was dead and not contented with that,

Ipſe ſuos gemitus foliis inſcribit, & Ai, Ai, Ovid. Met. lib. 10. Fab. 5.
Flos habet inſcriptum——

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preſerved, and one half of his name, as the ſame Author hath it.

Litera communis mediis pueróque viroque Lib. 13. fab. 1.
Inſcripta eſt foliis: hæc nominis, illa querelæ.

But the vehement love of *Moſchus* to *Bion* his deceaſed friend thought thoſe lamenting interjections too little, unleſs there were written a Καλὸς καλὴ beſides upon the ſame flower.

Νυῦ τάκεσθε λάλοι τ' οὐ γεγάμματε, ἠ μάλον Αἴ Αἴ,
Λάμβανε σοῖς πταλοῖσι, καλὸς τέθνηκε μελίκτας.

Καλὸς for him, and Καλὴ for her was ſure to be written, for *never ſeem'd Miſtreſs ſoul and Priſon fair.* But for her part if ſhe were Κυάνοφρυς, or had black eye-brows ſhe was counted fair indeed, according to that of *Gregory Nyſſen*, ᾧ ὀφρῦν μέλαιναν ἐπεσκιαμένῳ τῷ ὄμματι, inſomuch that *Jul. Pollux* ſaies, they had a trick μελαίνειν τὰς ὀφρῦς to black them: or if ſhe were ſomewhat big of ſtature; and therefore *Ariſtotle* in his Rhetorick puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Ἀγαθὸν τοῦ σώματος, as he doth εὐεξίαν καὶ εὐαισθησίαν, for the moſt commendable virtues of her mind. What the women of other times eſteemed to be the τὸ καλὸν of a man I know not. It ſeems in *Ariſtotle's* time it was counted moſt commendable, τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους χρήσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἢ πρὸς ἀρέσκειαν ἡσυχίας βίαν· ἢ δὲ καὶ ἰδεῖν πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν. But I have talkt too long of Love, or of *Robin-hood*, that never ſhot in his bow. I fear the Reader will blame me, for caſting away ſo much oyle and labour upon ſuch a Subject, and (it may be) give his cenſure, that *Oratio eſt vultus animi.* But thoſe that know me will diſtruſt his Phyſiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am in, I Seneca Ep. 115.

* Tacit. will not ſtick, but *properè ſequi quàm piget inchoare,** and proceed to the Nuptials themſelves.

CAP. VII.

De Nuptiis

THE parties being both agreed, unleſs the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as *Varro* calls her) or πρωΐλη ὠμοτρίζουσα, but a ſower grape (as *Euſtathius*) and not yet ripe *Matura viro* (in the words of *Virgil*) they were thus betroathed and yoaked together. The man did in the preſence of witneſſes, *promiſit himſelf* after the manner of the Latine form, *ſe ſponſam poſt concubitum invitam non deſerturum*, and ſo gave her one μνῆσες or other in earneſt: but the woman ſhe was *deſponſata*, promiſed or beſtowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promiſes of a Woman were falſe enough to make the ſaying among the *French* to be true.

Qui femme croit & aſne meſne,
Son corps ne ſera ia ſans peine.

And yet (it ſeems) though they feared ſhe might break a promiſe, they thought an oath to be ſtrong enough to hold her: For ſometimes at the conſummation of the buſineſs, they went both into the *Temple*, & there engaged themſelves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practiſe of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Iſis*, where the man ſwore ἀγαπήσειν ἀλλήλους, and the woman ἀνδρὶ πιστεύσειν, καὶ πίστιν ὑποῤῥύσας ἐδάκτυλον. I do not remember that the *Athenians* had that good fellows trick of the *Galatians*, to make a *poculum conjugii*, as well as *Charitatis* and to pledge their troth in a *cup*, a trick by which *a Camma* is reported to have poyſoned *Synorix* (whom ſhe pretended to Marry) for killing her Husband. Or that they uſed the cuſtom of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loaf in two between them with a ſword, related by *b Q. Curtius*. Surely it had been a true *Roman conſeration*, if they had. The rites uſually obſerved at a wed-

Achil. Tat. l. 5.

a Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.

b Lib. 8.

ding

ding are ſaid [c] to have been invented by *Erato*. They were partly theſe. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would ſay to take her leave of the *d Virgin*; Beſides this, before ſhe can ceaſe to be of the *herd* to the ἀζυγία * κάρη, take heed, *Great Diana* will be clean out of patience, if ſhe have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calf, never yet married in the *yoak* (and ſo the fitter for the maid that gives, and the maid that takes) and a crop of her hair beſides, according to that of *Euripides*.

[c] Cæl. Rhod. l. 7. c. 4.

[d] παρθένος.

* Minerva ſo called.

[e] Μέλλουσι θεᾷ γάμον, ὡς δοκοῦσι πρῶτον χρῆναι
Ἀρτέμιδι.

[e] Euripid. in Iphigem. Aul. verſu 11, 12.

And therefore *Clytemneſtra* (ſpeaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Huſband,

[f] Πότερα δ' ἦλθε παιδὸς ἱερουργὸς θεᾷ,

[f] Ibid. v. 7. 11.

Whether he had ſeen the ſacrifice perform'd? But alas poor *Iphigenia*, ſhe had ſo much to *do* as to be a ſacrifice to *Diana* the *Goddeſſe of Aulis*, and to be made a Calf her ſelf: When as our Woman, it will ſerve her turn to κανηφορεῖν to *Diana* the goddeſs of *Virginity*; that is, give her a baſket for a preſent to ſtop her mouth, ſome curious needle-work or other, with a prayer beſides to this purpoſe [g] Δέσποιν μὰ νεμέσα ---*That ſhe ſhould not take it amiſs if ſhe be married*. But now I muſt tell you, that beſides thoſe rites of the κανηφόρια, there were others as ſolemn as they to be obſerved too, if ever they thought to obtain the good will of the Goddeſs. The manner of them, and the occaſion you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certain Bear growing tame, came and lived in the δῆμος of the *Phlavides*; inſomuch that at length a little girle durſt go ſo far and ſo near, as to play with it, but the Bear quickly grew to be in earneſt, and drew her blood for the *ſtake*; whereupon one of her Brothers ſhot the Bear and killed it. Preſently after this there happened a very great Peſtilence in the City; and the Oracle being ſought unto, anſwer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they muſt make a decree, that

[g] Theocr. Id. 17

every girle in the City of *Athens*, sometime or other between the years of Five and Ten of her age, clad in a κροκωτὸς of Saffron colour garment, did offer and devote her self to *Diana*, to make amends for the Bear; and therefore a girle thus consecrated, was her self called ἄρκτος the Bear, and the action ἀρκτεία and ἀρκτεύειν to *play the Bear* (which me thinks was very unfitting for a Maid) and sometimes δεκατεύειν, because commonly they deferred it till the last year, as she did in [a] *Leusistrate*.

*Harpocr.

a Aristoph.

Εἰ τ' ἀλετρὶς ἢ δεκάτις
Οὖσα τ' ἀρχιγέτις
Κατηχέουσα κροκωτὸν ἐν Βραυρωνίοις.

Ἐν Βραυρωνίοις she sayes, because it was to be done in the Feast of *Brauronia* kept in the Moneth of *Munichion* to the honour of the same *Diana*, who [a] is reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pausanias* (*in Atticis*) sayes that Image of hers which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, insomuch that she came to be called by the name of *Diana* [b] *Brauronia*. And yet for all this, for ought that I can see, she need not to have been so scrupulous for displeasing I know not whom, if she had *Cecrops* his own Law for warrant, who first instituted the contract of Matrimony, and was therefore called by the name of δικὼν, saith [c] *Eustathius*: or else (according to the Scholiast upon [d] *Aristophanes* (*quasi* ὁρῶν ὡς δύο φύσεις τῶν τε παιδῶν, καὶ τῶν μητέρων, because he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father and Mother (as to *Knowledge* and in the way of a *certain* couple) or rather, if you will, the natures of a *Father* and a *Son*; for before, neither the Father could be known by the Son, nor the Son by the Father. But some again say, he had this name, because of his having the bodies of two distinct natures: in the upper part of a man, and in the lower of a Dragon, as he says (in *Vespis*)

a Athen. l. 6.

b Pausan. in Arcad.

c Ad Odyss.

d In Plut. Act 3. Sc. 3.

Ω κικλῆ πρῶτ' ἄναξ τὰ μέσ' ἐσθῶν δρακοντοειδὴς.

And others, because of the many excellent Laws which he made. Whereby he is reported so to have tam'd & civiliz'd the

the brutish conditions of the ancient people of *Athens*, that he seemed to have *new moulded* them, and made them of *another nature*; in the sense, that the stones have been said to be turn'd into Men, and the Trees into Lovers of Musick. Of all the reasons that are given, I like that best which likes *e Rhodiginus*, who says, he was called by this name, because the *children* did now appear to be *διφυεῖς, come of two*, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but *μονοφυεῖς*, the Sons of a *Mother* only; nay hardly that, at such time as the fashion was to be *expos'd* or *put out* to nursing to Bears and Wolves and the like. But enough of this, for I have more work for the Woman yet. She must Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the past, and in special manner to *Juno γαμηλία*, either as a *Pronuba* for the *present*, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater familias* (as he in [a] *Plautus* calls her) for the future. An ordinary thing it was amongst the Heathen to change their Gods, when they chang'd their condition, and I should be glad if *we Christians* could answer, *not guilty*, in this particular, being every one of us too too ready *αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ*, &c (as *Aristotle* says in his [b] *Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum Bonum* every day at the least. The Sacrifices performed to *Juno* went under the several names of *προγάμεια*, *προτέλεια*, and *προτέλειοι τῷ γάμῳ*, *παστέλια*, and *γαμήλιοι ἀγῶνες*, indeed the two first are sometimes the same that *γαμήλια*, the gifts sent before the wedding, and the word *προτέλεια* is used also sometimes in relation to others as well as to *Juno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verse of *Euripides* already cited. And therefore in another [c] place of the same Tragedy, you have the *Greek* Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they saw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptial pomp thus speaking;

Ἀστῶν προτελεῖα τάδε νύμφας
Αὐλίδι ἐν ἀκταῖσι τὰν ἀξίωσαι πόσει.

And so sometimes to the *d Parcæ*, whom they had reason to remember, if they meant to be *spar'd*, or to spin out their lives to the longest. But yet *Juno* (I think) was in a great deal more request among Lovers, than any of the rest, because they had her name so oft in their mouths. For among the

e Lib. c. 25.

a In Amphit. Act. 2. Sc.

b Lib. 1. c. 4.

c V. 433.

d Jul. Pol. l. 3. c. 3.

the *Latines*, when they would expreſs themſelves in the moſt affectionate manner that might be, they uſed to call one another by the name of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the old dotard does his *Caſina*, in the Poet [a] by the name of *Juno*.

[a] Plur. in Caſina Act 1. Sc. 3.

Eja mea Juno, non decet te eſſe tam triſtem tuo Jovi.

Adde hereunto the title of Τελεία, (as there is alſo Ζεὺς τέλειος) under which ſhe was worſhipped, which (together with the word προτέλεια) muſt be ſo ſaid, either from τέλος anciently put for γάμος (as πλειόδαι was for γαμῆσαι) from whence comes τέλειον both the Sacrifice and the day, or from προτελεῖν to *initiate*, or from τέλειος *adultus*, as if onely ſuch as were of age (ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τελείᾳ) [a] might be ſuffered to have the *happineſs* to marry. Now *Juno adulta* and *Jupiter adultus* were the more religiouſly worſhipped at ſuch a time ὅτι πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων (ſays *Suidas*) as being eſteemed in a manner of *Prytanai* and overſeers of the wedding. Here's a great deal of *cry* about *ſacrifices*, but you'l ſay the *Wool* is to come: only ſome σπονδαὶ there muſt be, leſt any Roman ſhould grudg the Woman the name of a *Sponſa*. Now becauſe (it may be) I ſet you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will ſpeak a word or two more of them. The gift called by *Demoſthenes*, Γαμηλία, was that which they ſent to the γαμοῦντες for the making of a Feaſt, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gift of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptials, they called ἕδνα (as they did alſo thoſe which they gave when they went a wooing) But the ἕδνιος χιτὼν was a garment beſtowed upon the Huſband by the wife (giving of apparrel was very uſual once both with the Jew [a] & the *Gentile*,) and you may not wonder at her for liberality, if ſhe *gave a Cake to him that had a Paſty in the Oven*; for if ſhe *brought* her φέρνας, ſhe had her ἐπιφέρνια to *carry* away. Nor can you blame her for immodeſty in giving, who was to be *given* her ſelf: for elſe (it may be) before it was come thus far, ſhe might bear the blame of the proverb, *femme qui donne s'abandonne*, *ſhe that gives is ſoon gotten*. The petty gifts then *given* by the Parents they cal'd μείλια, ἐπιμείλια, as were thoſe which

[a] Ariſtotle.

[a] Gen. c. 24. 53.

which were given *after* the Wedding. The dowry bestowed upon her by her Father at the first, προῖξ: that which was afterward added to improve it, ἐπίπροῖξ. (thus some have thought good to distinguish, and look their gifts in the mouth; but they may be too free of there distinctions.) At her first coming to her husband, she had bestowed upon her by him and her Friends τὴ ἀνακαλυπτήρια (which was also the name of the day it self) otherwise called ἀναθήματα, ἀθύρματα, and περιθετηκτήρια, and all for the same reason viz. because those gifts weee given, *ut illa pateretur se videri*, saies *b Victorius*: to make her take off her veyl, and be seen; in such a way *Jupiter* is reported to have bestowed upon *Proserpina* the City of *Thebes*: according to those verses of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Phœnissis*,

Τῇ ἁ ποτι Κρονίδης δῶρον πόρε Περσεφονείᾳ,
Ἐν γάμῳ ὅτι φαῶτον μὲ ὀπωπήσασθαι ἔμελλε
Νυμφιδίῳ κατέρυκε παρακλίνασα κάλυπτρον.

b var. Lect. 25. c. 3.

Κάλυπτρον saies he, or καλύπτρα according to *I. Pollux*, for although she might now shew her face, and be modest nevertheless, yet *before*, she stood behind a red veyl or hood, with which she hid her self, and so deserved the name of עלמה if it were nothing else *a* but for that. This *Lutetus* veyl is otherwise called ἁλὼς, in Latine *Flammeum*, *a* in Heb. צעיף such a thing as *Rebeccah* had when she met with her Husband, *Gen.* 24. 65. or *Tamar* when she met with a worse thing. *c.* 38. 19. The reason why they were not unveyled till they came to be *covert Baron* (I mean at *Athens*, for at *Sparta* they say, it was the clean contrary) is by *Charilaus* (cited by *b Cel. Rhodiginus*) delivered *veyl'd* under these words ἐπὶ τὰς μὲν κόρας ἀνδρας ἐυρεῖν δεῖ, τὰς δ γυναῖκας σιζειν πρὸ ἐχόντας, the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custom though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very great aime when I say: *Aucta fuga forma est*— (as *Ovid* saies of *Peneis* when *Apollo* pursued her) or when I expres my self in the words of *Nonnus*.

a See another reason in. *Prov.* 3. 19.
a Jav. Sat. 2.
b L. 13. 46.

Καὶ πλέον ἰμείρεται κρυπτοδόμοιο θεμεσσύνου,

Men long, to see a face that's hid, the more.

Indeed the case was otherwise with the Sophister *Hermocrates*, who having a Wife, that was none of the handsomest, put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being demanded his ἀνακαλυπτήρια, very handsomely answered to put it off, ἐπικαλυπτήρια μᾶλλον ἂν τοιούτων λαμβάνων, *I had more need to give her somewhat to let her veyl alone, unless she were better than she is.* Whether these *Flammea* were of the same making that their ordinary πέπλα were, I cannot well tell; but if they were (as I have some cause so to think, by those words of *Iphigenia* as she was going to be married, Ἐγὼ δ' λευκῷ, δέμνια δὲ καλυμμάτων Ἔχεσ'—) then I must tell you they were so thin that their faces might well have been discovered, and the covering been let alone, for *Helen* it seems, could see the flowers through them.

a In Aul. v. 372

b Eurip. Hel. v. 150.

b Ὃς μὴ χλοεχὲ
Δρεπανηφόρων ἴσον πέπλων
Ῥόδεα πέπλα—

But this may be easily answered; for as (you know) a *mountain* that is so far off, may be hid by putting but the little finger between, so again, one man is able to see another plainly thorow that which is sufficient to hide *himself*. And so much for the gifts at present, perchance you may have more anon. Now the custome was for the Bride to be carryed from her (παστὰς) Chamber to her Husband in a Coach or some such kind of thing, which the poor Girle in the * Poet (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuse) could term little better than being *ferried* in *Charons* boat.

* In. in Tauris v. 370. &c.

Ἀδὴς Ἀχιλλεῖς ὦ πάτερ, οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως
Ὃν μοι προσεῖπας πρόσθεν, ἐν δόμοις τ' ἔχεις
Εἰς αἰματηρὸν γάμον ἐπορθμεύσας δόλῳ.

To *Pluto*, not to *Pelem's* son
You would me then have married,
When me to bloody Nuptials
In Coach and Fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather so much by the *Nuncius* in another

ther Tragedy, for he saies, he had done this office for *Helen* himself.

Λαμπάδων μεμνήμεθ', ἃς ἡ πυρφόρος
Ἵπποις τροχάζων, παρίφορον σὺ δ' ἐς δίφρους
Σωὶ τὴν ἡ νύμφη δῦμ' ἔλιπες ὅλκιον. Id. in Hel. v. 728

(I make bold to trouble you with so much Greek, because it explains the custome so fully.) The song which they sung as they went along, they called ἁμαξίτιον μέλος from, ἅμαξα the Coach; the Axletree whereof they burnt as soon as they came to the Bridegroms door, *ut signarent illam ibi perpetuo mansuram, neque inde ulla tempestate* * *recessuram*; to shew that she was never to return from thence again: just as *William* the Conqueror burnt his ships at *Pevensey*, that so his Souldiers seeing their return to be desperate, might Fight the more *desperately* (as we use to say) or with the better courage. The νυμφαγωγὸς, νυμφάγος, or ἑστιάνυμος that was sent to fetch her, either sate by his side in the same Coach, or else went along by her *Coaches* side in another, and was therefore called πάρεδρος, from ἕδρα; unless that she were either *willing*, or *constrain'd* to *goe* it; for then he could be but χαμαίπους a *Pedee*. This custome for the husband to lead his wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in fashion among Kings and Princes) was sure to be observed at his *second Marriage*, for then (saies *a Eustathius*) ἄθυμος (ἀ νυμφίος saies *b Pollux*) ἡ νυμφίον ἀπώνατο, he might not do it himself, perhaps out of shame, because they accounted it a disparagement for a man to Marry the second time, yea though his former wife were dead, as it may be I shall have occasion to shew you hereafter. Besides the νυμφάγος, or the *Brideman*, and some of her own friends, there went along with her a νυμφάγωγος, or a *Bride-woman* to take off her veyl, and dress, and undress, and do other such offices as should be required. Her Wedding *Ornaments* were pretious stones, and jewels, especially about her bed, such as *a Hermione* had in the Tragedy. Κοσμῶν δὲ σῶμα κρηδέμνοις χρυσέοις. Her *Wedding Garment* was all of purple save in one place (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where else)

* Alex ab Alex.

a In Homeri Il. c.

b L. 3. c. 5.

a Eurip. Androm. v. 147.

else ἐνθα ἦν τῶν ἄλλων ἐδώδιμον ἢ χρέα ἢ περιβόλαια ἐκεῖ χρυσὸς ἦν, and there was gold, which agrees very well with that of *Hesiod* concerning a *Virgin*,

Οὔπω ἔργ' εἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

Who never yet the Works of *Golden Venus* knew.

I think I might venter upon this custome to interpret πρόθυρα παρθενίας (in *b Eustathius*) in another sense than others have done. When she came to the house, she found the Doors all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota laureis obsita*, saies *c Apuleius*: it seems they tarryed not till *d Juvenals* time —*Foribus suspende Coronas*

Jam patet es— Neither was it any whit strange to her to see those ornaments upon the *House* for she herself had the same according to those words of *Clytemnestra* to *Achilles*

b Ism. l. 10.

c. L. 3. Met.

d Sat. 9.

d Εὐρὶ. Ephig. in Aul. v. 705.

Σοὶ καπόστειχον ἐγὼ τὴν ἔμην ὡς γαμνυμένῳ.

And (I think) her Husband too ἀνδὶ πρανάοντι, μηδὲ θεσμοῖσι ἀνδρὸς τυμεύειν, says *a Lybanius*, speaking to the Father, whose work it was to trim the Husband; as it was the Mothers to adorn the Wife. The custome of adorning the *House* with Garlands, was very much in use among the Romans too, & as much detested by the Christians, *Christianus nec Laureis januam infamabit*, says *f Tertullian*. Those Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, consecrated to *Venus*, and so they made them in *Italy*, or of *Asparagus*, and so they made them in *Bœotia*, or else of the leaves of the herbs Σισύμβριον, Σήσαμον, and Μίκων, and so they made them at *Athens*, Σήσαμα ἢ καὶ μίκωνες καὶ σισύμβρεια φύλλα εἰς στεφανώματα οἱ γαμοῦσι, says the *a* Scholiast, the leaves had the name of the Herb in the plural number. The *Garland* made of *Sesamum leaves* had the name of Σησαμὴ or Σησαμὶς, but the *Cake* which they made of the grain was called Σησαμοῦς. For Cakes they usually bestowed upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* sayes in the *a* Comedy (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

e De Coron. Milit. c. 13.

a Upon Aristoph in Pa.

a Aristoph. Pac.

Ὁ πλακοῦς πέπεπται Σησαμὴ ξυμπεπλεγμένη.

And made they were of *Sesamum* rather than any other thing διὰ τὸ πολύσπορον (sayes the Scholiast) as if it were the herb

herb *Polygonum*, a name very ominous to the new Married people. Whether the cuſtome of kembing her hair with a Spear (ſuch as had been kept by a ſencer with the loſs of his life) were in uſe among the *Grecian* women too, as ſome *b* ſay it was) I cannot determine: But among the *Romans* it was, and they called ſuch a ſpear *haſtam cælibarem*. The reaſon why the Woman made uſe of ſuch a comb, or made this uſe of a ſpear, is thought to be, either *quaſi fortes eâ de cauſâ viros ſe genitura dominetur*, because ſhe ominated that by this meâs ſhe ſhould have ſtrong men to her children, or *quod ſponſi diſciplinæ ſe ſubditam fateatur*. Because ſhe acknowleg'd her ſelf ſubject to her husbands diſcipline. As the woman went forth of her *fathers* houſe, ſhe was to be *lifted* out over the threſhold juſt as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of the Election, to pretend a conſtraint. You ſee, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almoſt every where, and yet they ſay, that *Love will Creep where it cannot go*. As ſhe entred into her Husbands houſe, the *a* Boys and Maids fell a throwing of Figs and Junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of *ſycophancy*, but as an *omen* of *fruitfulneſs* δωρεῖται σημῆον, (ſays *Rhodiginus* out of *Theopompus*) which puts me in mind of a fooliſh cuſtome once in faſhion with ſome of us, *viz.* upon *Twelfe-Eve* (as they call'd it) to put part of their toſted *Bean-cake* upon one of their Trees, and ſo to cry *Whatſaile*, and ſing a *Carmen* for a fruitful year. The trumpery thus thrown or poured out, they called καταχύσματα, as the word is uſed by the Poet in his Comœdy of *Pluto*, where he brings in the Woman ready to do the like upon him, and ſo to give him the *Joy* for his new bought eyes; ſays ſhe

——Κομίσω καταχύσματα
Ὥσπερ νεωνήτῳ ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡδέα.

Upon which words the Scholiaſt notes it to have been the cuſtome alſo for a new ſervant, at his firſt coming into the houſe, to have him to the fire ſide, and there to *ſtrew* upon his head κόλυβα, ἰσχάδας, σεσαμα, Junkets, and Figs, and Palm-branches, and a hundred other ſuch trinkets. But this I think was done not onely as *he* ſayes, εἰς εὐτεκνίας σημῆον, to

b Alex ab alex. l. 2. c. 9.

a Ariſt. in Plut.

make it an *omen* of fruitfulneſs (as they had done to his Maſter before) but alſo for the benefit of the old Servants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was thrown, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) do the *Freſhmens Gaudies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but ſome *beaſt* or other was beſtowed upon *them* for a *victime*. In the cutting of it up (to ſhew that in Wedlock all bitterneſs and choller muſt be caſt aſide) they took the [a] Gall, and flung it with a moſt eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice. If there happened any thing *obſcene* or unlucky, the Nuptials were diſſolv'd; and thus it happened to [b] *Clitophon*, and *Calligone*; for an Eagle came and ſnatcht away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. Now this Sacrifice was uſually performed by the Fathers (and none ſo fit to be the Prieſts of their own family) as may be gathered from the practiſe of [c] *Agamemnon*; who when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding cheer*, very religiouſly made anſwer yes,

[a] Cæl. Rhod. l. 28. c. 21.

[b] Ach. Tat. l. 7.

[c] Eurip. Iph. in A. v. 721.

Θύσας γε θύμασ' ἅπερ ἔχρῃν θύσαι γαμοῖς.

When I have done my Wedding *Sacrifice*.

As alſo by that which you may read of the like practiſe in *Achilles Tatius*, where he ſpeaks of the Marriages of *Leucippe* and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more eſpeciall manner to *Jupiter* Ομόγνιον, and *Juno* Ζυγία, as it may appear by that of *Libanius*, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐπὶ γάμοις, ᾧ ὁμόγνιον Διὰ, ᾧ Ἥρα Ζυγία ἐπήμοιν εὐχέτην. By reaſon of this, and other ſolemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a Prophanation they made it to diſturb the buſineſs never ſo little, or to offer any *incivility* to either of the parties, eſpecially to the Wife: as for inſtance; One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the ſtory in *Photius Codice* 98.) being accuſed of Bribery to the *Areopagus*, they ſummon'd him to make his appearance at the Court to anſwer the crime; but the Sergeants that were ſent (ſaith my Author) τὰ περὶ γάμους ἰδόντες ἐσπουδάκεσαν, καὶ γνόντες ὡς εἰς ἡδονὰς γυναικὸς γάμοις, ἀφέντες δὲ ζήτησιν ἀνεχώρησαν, ἃ γὰρ ὠφλήκεσαν αὐτῷ

Libanius Declam. 35.

ἴσχυν ἐπυνθάνοντο γυναικὸς νεογάμου, as soon as they saw but the *signs* of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the door) & were informed of a Nuptial Sacrifice, because they would not rush in uncivilly upon the new Married Wife, they made no more enquiry after the man, but returned presently back again, and the Court was contented with the news. So likewise in the Wars with King *Philip*, having intercepted several Letters of his to his friends, and amongst the rest one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*, when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cry'd out μήτε λύειν μήτε ἀναγινώσκειν, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up. [a] Πρὸς γὰρ γαμετὴν γυναῖκα ἡ διὰ γεγραμμένων ὁμιλία ἀπόῤῥητον ἀνδρὸς, ἐν εὐσχήμονι δημοσίᾳ συνουσίᾳ ἦν), because they thought it a thing no way beseeming them to divulge that most secret converse by letters betwixt a man and his wife. From the service of their *Gods*, they made haste to the service of their *Genius*; but amidst a great deal of good cheer, the man and the wife were always noted [a] for a great deal of temperance too. The Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thorns, and boughs of Acorns, singing as he went [b] εὗρον, σῶσον ἀμεινο, *I* (or *they*) *have avoided a worse evil, and met with a better.* If he speak in the person of the man, he meant that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the best of the *three evils* at the least; & so it is not so bad as *out of the frying pan into the fire* (unless you will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of loosing her, for so (they say) *he that hath lost his Wife and six pence, hath some loss by the mony.* The Musick which they had was singing ἀμοιβαῖοι, by turns, and calling upon *Hymenæus* (as the Romans did upon *Thalassius*) [c] Τμὴν, ὦ Τμέναε, ὦ Τμήν, imitated by him in *Plautus*.

[a] Photius *ib.*

[a] Athenæus lib. 9.

[b] Zenobius.

[c] Ast. in Avid.

Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Io Hymen.

And this they did either in a *thankful commemoration* of one of that name, who had sometimes saved the Maids of *Athens* from a general ravishment; (such as there was once of the *Sabines*)

Sabines) or else in a *sorrowful commiseration* of another, that happen'd to be killed by the fall of a house that very day that he Married. Whatever the *Man* was, they seem to have given him the honour of a God, and therefore to have been very loath to give him distaste, in omitting any part of the Nuptial Ceremonies.

Quid si etiam offendam Hymenæum?

saies he in *a Plautus*. And this it was that made them keep such a noyse in the Streets, as they did with their *Io Hymen Hymenæe*, as soon as ever she was out of her Fathers house.

a In Casinam Act. 4. Sc 3.

Ὅταν ξὺν ὑμεναίοισιν ἐξάγῃ κόρην.

saies *Clytemnestra*; b which agrees with that of the other Poet in the same place.

b Eurip Iphig in. A. v. 693.

Age tibicen, dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,
Suavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæe.

Whether 'twere the fashion in *Greece* to set the woman first in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tel; but (if I mistake not) *Lactantius* has somewhat of such a thing, and I might speak more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the woman was led into the Chamber (ἡ δάλαμον or ἡ παστάδα) to shew whereto she must, there was a sieve carried along with her, and a pestle hung at the door, σημεῖα αὐτουργίας (as *I Pollux* saies) or to signifie that hereafter she must learn to *put her hand* to any kind of labour. When the Man and the Woman were *both* in (for the Woman was in first, as the fashion is with *Us*) according to *Solons* own order, they were to take a *Quince apple*, and eat it between them, ὅτι δεῖ πρῶτα τὸ σῶμα τῷ, γλυκεῖς χάριν εὐάρμοστον ἔχειν πρώτιστα ἐν ἡδοναῖς, saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to signifie *the pleasantness and harmony that should be in their talk at first*. And yet notwithstanding now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a Chough would come and scold (*grave cornicaretur* forsooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at least) and leave the *building imperfect*; and this they called ἀτελίξιον δῶμα: or γάμον ἀτελῆ, because by this means

a—*Conjux miseranda Cayco*
Linquitur & primo Domus Imperfecta cubili.

a Valer. Flac.

δῶμα

δῶμα I said (or if you will σμικροεπέστερον speak a little finer) δωμάτιον, for this word is many times used by it self for θάλαμος, as it seems to be by *Plato* in his third book *de Repub.* speaking of *Jupiter* thus, ᾧ ἔπος ἐπαναγόντα ἰδόντα ἢ ἔργον, ὥστε μηδὲ εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἰδίᾳ ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐυλούθρου χαμαὶ συγγενέσθαι. And yet I think *b Hesiod* (without any wrong done him) may be understood of any other business left *Roughhewn, unpolish'd*, or not *done over* again, when he saies,

b Eg. l. 2.

Μηδὲ δόμον πρώϊον ἀνεπίξεστον καταλείπειν.
Μήτ' ἀροτρεύοιμι κακὸς λαχάρυζα κορώνη.

c Ismenias applies it indeed to our purpose; but now to prevent such an *omen* as this, they set the boys to cry Κόμη ἐπὶ κορώνῃ, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had been set to keep off the Rooks from the corn: κορώνῃ (I say) and not κορώναις, in the plural number: for herein the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* is supposed to have mistaken; because neither that bird, nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which was commonly the day before the Wedding) was ever wont to be lookt upon as unlucky; unless it came in the singular number; and then the *birds* being singled & divided one from the other, could not possibly be a good sign to those that were to be *coupl'd*, and joyn'd together. But some notwithstanding like the Choughs for *very good lucky birds* (as we use to say) let them come how they will; either because they are πολύζωοι (as *Homer* calls them) long liv'd, or because *ea cornicum societas est* (saies *a* one) *ut ex duabus Sociis, altera extincta, vidua altera perpetua maneat.* Now in the Chamber where they were to lie, they had two beds, viz. Κλίνη γαμική, and κλίνη ἔβδευτον, or a *side-bed* for a change, or ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ παίδων μὴ ἀνυμένου saith *Hesychius*. If the parties that were married were very young, their Poets would term the bed κυπέλλον λέχος, as *Aristophanes* does (in *Pace*) and so κυπελλίτιδος * δῶμα for the house, and κυπελλὶς for the wife. Before the woman could lie with the man, she was to have her bath of water heated of purpose to wash her body in, νυμφικὸν λοῦτρον they called it, according to that of the Comedian in *Lysistrate*.

c Apud Eust. l. 5.

a Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.

* Homer.

Στρ. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ πυγχάνεις ἔχων, λοῦτρον παρίξω.
Χορ. Ἐμοὶ σὺ λοῦτρον ὥσπερεί; Στ. καὶ ταῦτα νυμφικόν γε.

And in *Pace*, you have *Trigæus* when he intended to marry *Opora*, giving order to his servant, as soon as he had brought her to his house, first to provide him a pot of Water, and afterward to make the bed.

Ἀλλ' εἶσαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηὶ λαβών,
Καὶ ἢν πύθηται κατακλύζει, κἀξέμεινε' ὕδωρ
Στόμυδί μοι κἀπὶ ἡκεῖδιον λίχθι.

This water at first was fetcht as far as from *Callirhoe* *vel*, ἐκ τῆς καλλίρρωτος εἶτ' αὖθις ἐκ τῶν ἐννεακρούνου καλουμένων, *But afterward*, saies *a Pollux*, from *Enneacrunos*, which was so called because it had nine several κρῆναι, or *fistulæ*, or *salientes*, where the water sprung up, and so you might allow one for every Muse in the City, But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrunus* were but two distinct names of the same Well: The one expressing what *fair water* it was, or how well and clear it ran; and the other in how many places: for it may very well be thought so by that verse of *b Statius*

a Lib. 3. c. 13.

b Theb. 12.

Et quos Callirhoe nouis errantibus undis
Implicat——

Nay, *Thucidides* saies positively, they were the same Onely that when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was usual when they new made a thing to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrunos*. Which if it be so, I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐν τῇ Καλλιρρόῃ, εἶτ' αὖθις τῇ ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένῃ. From *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacrunus*. The woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this water, was commonly called the Λουτροφόρος. When the wife was ready to undress, her Mother took her hairlace and winding it about one of the *Torches* (for they had λαμπαδηφορίαι too) burnt it out, and made up her hair with a new. The *Mother* I said, For *she* commonly would λαμπαδεύειν, carry the torches, or *hold the candle* to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba's* used to do.

—Non te duxit in thalames parens

Comitata

Comitata primos, nec ſua feſtas manu
Ornavit ædes, nec ſuâ lætas facis
Vitta revinxit— ſaies* *Jocaſta.* * Senec. Theb.

For the matter of theſe Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not aſſur'd: whether it were *Corylus*, commonly uſed for ſuch purpoſes, according to *Pliny*; or *Larex*, or *Spina Alba*, which they uſed amongſt the Romans: and ſo likewiſe for their number, whether the cuſtom were to have juſt five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, *viz. Jupiter Adultus, Juno Adulta, Venus, Suadela*, & *Lucina*, they have not given me light enough to diſcover; a little glimmering I have, and ſome cauſe to conjecture, that there was a certain number required. Otherwiſe why ſhould the covetous Father in *a Libanius* complain ſo heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter (that he could not ἐπ λυχνῳ τῳ νύμφῳ ἀγαγεῖν, light the Bride to bed with one and no more. But for the bearer that it was uſually the Mother, will appear by the diſcourſe that paſſed between *Clytemneſtra* and her Huſband in the * *Poet*; for when her Husband bid her go back again to *Argos*, & leave her daughter with him, ſhe askt him

a Declam. 37.

* Eurip. Iph. in Aul. v. 734.

——— τίς δ' ἀναχθήσει φλόγα, *but who ſhall carry the Torches then?* and being anſwered ἐγὼ παρέξω τοῦτ', ἡ νυμφίοις πρέπει, that he meant to do it himſelf: nay quoth ſhe οὐχ ὁ νόμος οὗτος· οὐ σὺ γ' οὐδὲ σοὶ δοκεῖ τάδε, *that was not the cuſtom, neither do you your ſelf think it to be handſome and fitting.* And indeed, I think, *Clytemneſtra* was wrong'd, for it ſeems to have been reckoned not ſo much the *office* and the *charge* as the *Priviledge*, and the *honour* of the Grecian Woman. And therefore *Medea* made it one of the ſad conſequents of her baniſhment from the company of her Children, to be debarred the bearing of the Torches at their Wedding. *O my dear children, quoth ſhe, what a Wretch am I, who muſt thus leave you before I carry the Torches.*

a Eurip. Med. 1025.

a Πεῖν λέκτρων, ὦ χεῖρες καὶ χαμπύλαις
Εὐναῖς ἀγῆλαι, λαμπάδας τ' ἀναχθεῖν.

Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had deſir'd only to have *lighted* the

Torches, ſhe might very well have been blam'd for her paſſion, becauſe then he had done no more than other fathers uſed to doe. δᾷδας γαμηλίους ὑπάιτησα: *I lighted the Torches*, ſays he in * *Libanius*. But this office neither of them could challenge from the other, but they ſhar'd it between them, for the Mothers might do it too, if we may beſieve the Authour in theſe words which he puts in *Niobes* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's* upon the death of her children) Ἐγὼ μὲν λαμπάδα γαμήλιον ὤμην θεσπάσειν (nor onely ἐναρχήσειν) παῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ παῖς παρθένοις; *I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding* &c. At *Sparta* there was none of theſe doings, only the *Pronuba ſhaved* the woman (whether becauſe ſhe had *vowed* to be henceforth her Husbands) and ſo delivered her up to the man (if ſhe had gone among the * *Iſraelites* when ſhe was thus uſed, certainly the people there would have taken her for a *captive* Wife (the *Zona* which the Woman wore was untied by the Husband in the bed, ζώνη δ' ἣν ὁ κύριος ἐν εὐνῇ καὶ παρθένοις, ὃς ἐν ἀνὴρ ἐλύθη πρὶν ἂν ἀπάρθενοι γένωνται, ſays the *Scholiaſt* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of Λυσζώνη might be given to *Diana* as ſeaſonably then as at the time of Child-bearing, and worſhipped ſhe was then as well as at any other time. But at which of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona*, or whether there were another yet to be unty'd beſides this, or whether it was tyed and untyed again, or whether one knot were untyed at firſt time, and another at the ſecond, there's the *knot* of the queſtion (if we may queſtion for knots in bulruſhes.) indeed that there was a *Zona* untied the Wedding night, I think it may be proved by thoſe words of *Alceſtes*.

* Decl. 35.

* Deut. 21. 13.

Ὦ λέκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένου' ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ
Κορέσματ' ἐν σοὶ δ' ἀνδρός.——

And that there was another left to be untied at the time of child-bearing, I have reaſon to conjecture from the *Herculaneus nodus* formerly mentioned; becauſe (I ſuppoſe) they call'd it by that name in alluſion not ſo much to *Hercules* his ſtrength, as if they would have it the *faſter*, that is the ſtronger

ſtronger ty'd; as to his happineſs in making of children, as if they would have it the faſter *unty'd*, as faſt as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had ſeventy children juſt. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maids (whom we may call the *Children of the Bridegroom*) ſtood at the chamber door, and ſung their ὑμεναίους or γαμήλια, with as great noiſe as poſſibly they could, ἵνα τῆς νυμφίου βιαζούσης τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ φωνὴ μὴ ἐξακούηται, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, ſo that if the Wife ſhould *Cry out* (as we ſay) before her time, ſhe might not be heard. Which they had no ſuch need to doe, if that be true which they ſay, that one of the *Brides* friends, whom they called the παρανύμφιος, uſually did him that good office, to ſtand Sentinel at the door, and keep the women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not ſo much *wedded* to his *pleaſure*, as to be clean *divorced* from his friends; for beſides the feaſt which he made altogether for the woman (called Θεσπροτέεια, by *Iſæus* in his oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the ἑταῖρους, as his father in law had done before him. This making of Feaſts at Weddings was properly called δαῖτα τοῦ γάμου, as it is in the Tragedy. Pollux l. 3. c. 3.

Κ' ἄνευθε δαῖτες τοῦ γάμου—

And a little before,

Ἐνταῦθ' ἑδαίτυσαν Πυλάδου γάμους δυοῖν.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behind hand at this kind of work, for they alſo kept a Feaſt of purpoſe for the woman beſides. And therefore ſays *Clytemneſtra* in the place but now cited, Iphig in Aul. v. 707. & 710.

Ἡμεῖς γ' ἑστίωμεν τὴν γυναῖκ' ἐπὶ δόμους;

The ſaying *aujourdhuy marié, & demain marri*, to day Wedded, and to morrow ſadded, would ſcarce hold true among them. For the day after the Wedding, the Mirth ran as freſh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carryed to the houſe in pomp, a Boy in a white coat walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the rear, with ſuits of Clothes and all ſorts of Houſhould ſtuffe, as Spoones, and Cups, and the like, a cuſtome obſerved by the *Lacedæmonians* with ſo much pride and exceſſe, that *Solon* was fain to make

a Law to restrain the Suits to the number of three, and the rest of the things to a lower price. The gifts then bestowed, they called προαύλια (as those which I presented you before, were called στεφάνια) and sometime διαπρόσια, as being that which (to speak in *Juvenals* words)

Primâ prono mittit datur— and such gifts *Medea* once sent by her children to *Glauca*. But so with a vengeance, as she made them ἄδωρα δῶρα, killing her with the Spit, from which she gave her the roast.

a Πέμψω δὲ καὶ νυμφικὸν δῶρ' ἔχοντας ἐς χεροῖν
Νύμφῃ φέρεσθαι, &c.

a Eurid. Med. v. 784.

And this puts me in mind of some that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing προαύλια for the first, ἀναύλια (when the garment called ἀναβληδὸν was given by the Woman to the Man) for the second, and αὐλία for the third.

l. Pollux. l. 3. c. 3.

CAP. VIII.

Quo tempore optimè ducatur Uxor.

THe time of the *year* which they deemed most lucky to marry in (for almost every Nation has had their *Nefastous* times and daies) was the first Month of the Winter. (Clean contrary to the custome of the *Persians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and set upon the worke of Generation in the Spring.) But though they *chalked* but one part of the year, I hope they did not mark all the rest with a *coal*, neither can I think they had the same opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans had only of the Month of *May*, *a Mense malas Maiâ nubere.* it may be *malum* by b *Plutarches* consent. The best day of the *Month*, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moon; that they might be *brought to bed* (as we say) the sooner, and grow the fuller themselves. But the best part of the *day* was the last, or the next to the night, and so they might *go to bed* the sooner. Just at these seasons *Themis* in * *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be married to *Peleus*, as appears in those words of hers (and the Poets)

a Ovid. l. 5. Fast

b Quæst. Rom. 8. 6.

* Isthm. H.

περὶ

——τὸ δ' ἐχομενὸ[illegible]
Δὶ ἱστόρησε Ἡσίοδος
Νύ[illegible] καὶ χαλεπὸν ὑ[illegible]
-φ' ἡμεῖ παρθενίας

But I make no queſtion, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be *born* ἐν τετράδι *Quartâ Lunâ* as *Hercules* had; beſides *Heſiod* is of his opinion that the fourth day (and I believe he means μετὰ ἱσταμένου of the firſt third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, ſo that no *Oſcinous* bird did *obſcavare* or *occinere*, *ſing another ſong* to the contrary. [a] Hſ. γ. l. 3.

Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἄγεσθαι εἰς οἶκον ἄκοιτιν,
Οἰωνοὶ κρίνας οἱ ἐπ' ἤματι τύπτον ἄειροι.

Whereas the ἑκτὴ μετὰ (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad again, eſpecially for the Woman. But I muſt confeſſe, I rather incline to the judgment of the Goddeſſe, eſpecially having [a] Agememnon too (a man) on my ſide, who when the queſtion was ask'd ——πῶς δ' ἡμέρα χωρεῖ; made anſwer. [a] Eurip. Iphig. in Av. 717.

Ὅταν σελήνης τὸν τέλειον κύκλον

When that bleſſed ſeaſon of Full Moon ſhall come.

I do not find the *Romans* to have been ſo ſcrupulous as to think Marriage to be *imperfect*, unleſſe it were at the *full*, or never to be as good as it ſhould be, except it were *in Medio*, like the vertues. 'Tis true, the *Calends* and the *Nones*, and the *Ides*, were daies of another *colour*, black and unſuitable with the mirth of a Wedding; and ſo were all Holy-dayes whatſoever, and the reaſon you have given by [b] *Macrobius* in theſe words, *Feriis autem vim cuiquam ſiti piaculare eſt: Ideo tunc vitantur nuptiæ, in quibus* [illegible] *fieri virginibus videtur*: To whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-days, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy days to any, neither *Religious* days (as they call'd them) to ſuch as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *poſtridiani dies*, that is, the firſt days after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri*, were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now [b] L. 1. Sat. c. 15.

every,

every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which ſhe could not do if ſhe married upon the Nones. 'Tis true a *Widdow* might be ſuffered to Marry upon a Holy-day; (and *Varro* will tell you the reaſon) but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the Feaſt of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. Beſides having of *non-licet* dayes, they had a cuſtome to Marry onely upon ſuch a day, as by the judgment of the Aſtrologer (to whom they fought) [c] *copulas nuptiales affirmet*. But ſo much may ſuffice concerning the *time* of Marriage. I proceed to ſpeak the qualifications of the perſons to be Married.

[c] Apul.

CAP. IX.

Quæ requirantur in Marito.

THe Conditions required in a Husband were theſe. Firſt, he muſt be no ſtranger, for if he could be prov'd that he was; both his goods and he too were ſold; and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly, he muſt be no leſſe than five and thirty years old, according to the *Law*; and according to [a] *Ariſtotle* two years elder. But according to *Heſiod* a little younger, or a little elder is ſeaſonable enough.

[a] Polit. 7.

Μήτε τριηκόντων ἐτέων καὶλα πόλλ' ἀπολείπων
Μήτ' ἐπιδευὴς μάλα ποιλά.

Thirdly if the Woman with whom he was to Marry, were ἐπίκληρος, ſole Daughter and Heir (ſuch a one as *Ariſtophanes in Veſpis* calls ἐπιθαμιτίδα or ἀδύχοον) he muſt be one of the ſame houſe, and the next of the blood. But then there alwayes were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) ſome others of the Kinred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the buſineſs with him and plead to the ſame; and then ſuch Women were called ἀντίδικοι, [b] and the whole ſuit Ἀμφισβήτησις: The queſtion was wont to be decided by the *Prætor*. Laſtly, he muſt not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at leaſt he might

[b] l. Poll. l. 3. c. 3.

not

not be ſo upon pain of being accounted a fellow of *no account*, or repute among the Citizens. For *Charondas* having made this Law, Μὴτ' ἐνδικμαίδω, μήτι μητρυιὰν ἀγάγῃ τῆς πολίτης; ὃ πατὴρ αὐτῇ μητρυιὰν ὑπάρχων; *whoſoever ſhall ſuper inducere novercam, let him be* ἄτιμος, *&c.* Beſides the hurt done to the Children (it being as *good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a Stepdame*) gave one pretty reaſon more againſt being the *Husband of two Wives* in this ſenſe, by way of *dilemma*: you ſhall have his words, as I found them in *a Arſenius* his Ἀποφθέγματα φιλοσόφων *&c.* ſaies he, Εἰ τὸ πρῶτον χρῆμα εὐτύχησε γύναι· τὸ δεύτερον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ πάντων, εἰ τ' ἐν ἀτυχίᾳ, μανικὸν τὸ πολλὰς δὶς τῆς λαβεῖν πόλιν, ἢ γὰρ ἀλλοῖος ὁ δὶς ἐν τῇς ἀυτῇς πεπτωκὼς ἁμαρτάνων ἄφρων ἂν δικαίως νομισθείη, *If thou hadſt good luck in thy firſt Wife, thou ſhould'ſt have kept thee well while thou waſt well: if thou had'ſt not, thou art little better than a Fool or a Madman, to ſtumble again at the ſame ſtone.*

a Moemnbaſiæ Archiepiſ.

CAP. X.

Quæ requirantur in Uxore.

THe Qualification, required in a Wife, were theſe. Firſt ſhe muſt be *free*, before ſhe put her neck in the *yoak*. For otherwiſe the Marriage was counted συνοίκια rather than γάμος, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Heſiod*) κτητὴν ἀγαμίην —— If ſhe were a ſtranger, ſhe muſt pay ſoundly for it, no leſs than a thouſand δραχμαὶ to the City. This Law though it were for a time *let down* by *Pericles* his ill example, yet it was *brought up* again by *Ariſtophon*. Secondly, ſhe muſt be ſix and twenty years of Age. And yet *Ariſtotle* even in *b Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen, Out of indulgence to the Sexe ſurely: for elſe he thinks it very unfitting they ſhould Marry ſo young, both becauſe ἐν τῇ τόκοις πονοῦσι μᾶλλον, *&c.* they travell with a great deal more labour, and labour for their travel with a great deal more intemperance; and alſo becauſe he had obſerv'd that in thoſe places where they uſed

b L. 7. c. 16.

to make such haste, ὀπωλὸς ἢ μικροὶ τὸ σῶμα τὸ, the Puppies for the most part were blind, not so perfect, or not so bigge
* Hesiod. Oper. of stature as else they would be. But then there is * another who would be willing to let them Marry a year or two sooner than he,

Ἡ δ' γυνὴ τὸν ὑβῶντα, τὸν μετέπειτα δ' γαμοῖτο.

a Eurip. in Hel. v. 12. And a another sooner yet (if I do not mistake)

Ἐπὶ δ' ἄλλ' ἄλλοι ἦλθον, ὡς γάμων γάμοι.

Cùm ad pubertatem venit, tempestivis nuptiis

Thirdly she must be but one, and no more according to
b L. 13. b *Athenæus*; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reason of the scarcity of men to make the more haste for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine; whom they made use of only *ad concumbendum*, (for the present occasion) and that Children begotten upon such a Woman were accounted for γνήσιοι, *as good as the best*. And what will you say, if *Socrates* himself made use of this liberty? For I have read he did, and that besides *Xanthippe* the shrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Aristides*, of which two it is said, that upon a time they fell out, and were presently reconcil'd again by their husband, who told them, it was a shame for two handsome Women as they were thus to
* Rhod. Panætius. fall out for one unhandsome Man. But * others there be again that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot see how the Etymology could hold water, γάμοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅμα οἰκεῖν ἢ ἅμα ἰέναι ἢ,
a Eurip. Androm. v. 177. Unless you will have the man to stand out. a *Hermione* herself, though she were *superinducta* over *Andromache's* head, did altogether dislike the increase of the number.

—οὐδὲ γὰρ καλὸν
Δοῦν γυναικὶ κἀνδρὶ εἰς ὑπαίθριον.

Which words of hers were presently seconded by those of the *Chorus*.

Ἐπίφθονόν τι χρῆμα θηλειῶν ὄχυ,
Καὶ ξυγγάμοισι δυσμενὲς μάλιστ' ἀεί.

Such envious thing the Women are,
That fellow-wives they cannot beare.

b Eurip. ib. And verified they have been, not only by b her own example

in

in conſpiring the death of *Andromache*: but by the ordinary practice of other ſuch Wives among the Greeks, eſpecially in the Country of *Epirus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made uſe of Magical deviſes, eſpecially ſuch as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and ſo conſequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way than *à partu retinere maritos*. Thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as ſhe ſuppos'd, and ſo ſhe told the other. a Juven. Sat. 2.

—συγκαὶ γ' ἀνδρὶ φαρμάκοισι σοῖς
Νικᾷς δ' ἀκούων διὰ σὲ μαι δύλου).

When ſuch courſes as theſe are taken.

b *Turgida non prodeſt conditâ pyxide Lyde*, Neither the keeping of a ſpider in a box, nor the aſh of a naked *Lupercus* will do any good. Fourthly, ſhe might be halfe a ſiſter to the husband, ſo it be meant not ὁμομήτριος, or ὁμογάστριος, or *uterina*; but only ὁμοπάτριος, by the Fathers ſide, or *germana*, as the word is uſed by *Æmilius Probus*; (whether in its *germane ſenſe* I know not) where he ſpeaks of *Cymon's* marrying his Siſter *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio ſororem germanam ſuam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore, quam patrio more ductus: nam Athenienſibus licet eodem patre natas Uxores ducere*. This Act of *Cimon's Athenæus* thinks to have been done παρὰνομίαν contrary to the Laws, and ſo in a clancular way. But *Plutarch* ſaies he did it in a publick manner, not only by making her his concubine to lye with him, συνεῖναι, (as he tearms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning ξυνοικία, but συνοικεῖν, taking her into his houſe to live with him; and that for a lawful cauſe, (as he thought) *viz.* becauſe ſhe was to ſeek of a Husband fit for her condition. But for all this, I do not ſee how he could by a Grecian well be excus'd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike *barbarous*, b Juven. ib.

— παῖς ἢ μητρὶ μίγνυ)
Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ —

When Son is joyn'd with Mother,
Or Siſter with the Brother.

L. 13.

Unleſs you will maintain the goodneſs of the practiſe *then*; by the greatneſs of the Perſon that uſed it before, I mean *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth and one bed, (when they pleas'd) Fifthly, (ſhe muſt be no Baſtard, unleſs ſhe were intended for a Baſtard-maker, and in a *Proletarium* manner, only for *breed*, I mean for a Concubine: for ſuch I take to be little better than what *Talthibius* once ſaid poor *Caſſandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, viz. α ἀλλήτων σκύμα γυμφεύσεια, and the Children little better than Σκύμοι, if the Father were more in the *dark*. As for the Portion or Eſtate, ſhe was either ἐπίκληρος, one that had no Brother, and was Heir to the whole Eſtate; or ἐπίπροικος; that had a Brother, and no more than her part, or a *portion*. The greateſt diſtinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a προῖξ, or a portion. Inſomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἀπροίκος; yet he would have προῖκῶα, the *Writings*, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the beſt. Thoſe writings were ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of witneſſes, and the man did ἐπιχεῖν τὴν ἀντίμοιραν, make over to the Woman ſome Houſe or Land in exchange, and this they call'd ἀντίμοιρα.

a Eurip. in Troad. v. 251.

a Harpocr.

CAP. XI.

De Divortiis.

AND now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a month (once for every part, for they divided their Month into three parts,) or elſe if ſhe were an ἐπίκληρος ſhe might go to *another*, unleſs he were able to excuſe himſelf by a lawful impediment. Such as coming from funerals is accounted by *b Heſiod* in thoſe words of his: Μήδ' ἀπὸ δυσφήμοιο τάφου ἔπος ἔσσεσθαι, Σπερμαίνειν γαμέλιον.

Or by any other unſeaſonableneſs of time: for that they thought ſome times more ſeaſonable than other, and ſome fitter

fitter to beget Men-children than Women, may appear by the words of the same Poet: speaking of the sixt day of the middle part of the month.

Ἀνδράσιν δ' ἀγαθὴ, κύρσῃ δ' ἐ ζώμενός τις.

And a little after of two other dayes.

Ἐσθλὴ δ' ἀνδράσιν· δικάσῃ, κύρσῃ δέ τε τέκνα.

But if they were about any solemne Sacrifice to the Gods, be the time what it would, it could never be lucky for either. And therefore at such times they used (as well as the Israelites) to abstain altogether, or ἀγνὰς ἔχειν, *pure habere*, as the Poet call'd it *in Asinario*.

Si fortè pure velle habere dixerit.

If a Wife that was an ἐπίκλητος were overlaid, or any way abus'd by her Husband, she might have a writ γραφὴν κακώσεως ἢ ἀπολείας, otherwise called ἀπογραφὴν, and be suffered to leave him; and this they called ἀπολείπειν: whereas if the Husband would part with *her*, it was call'd ἀποπέμπειν, because he might tarry in his own house, and be rid of her company nevertheless. But one thing I must tell you too, that for either party to *leave*, or to *put away* the other, was a thing always very much detested among the Grecians. Insomuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the custome was for so many men and Women to meet in the darke, and every one to *buy his pig in the poke*, the *Ephori* impos'd a mulct upon *Lysander* himself for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. But ἀπολείπειν, for the Woman to seperate from the Man, 'twas a thousand times worse than ἀποστάσιον, even flat rebellion, or *delinquency* at the beast. Hear but what *b Medea* saies of it.

[a] Schol. in Aristoph. id Equit.

—ἡ δὲ ἐκπολεῖν ἀπόλεται,
Γυναῖκ', ἐὰν νιν' ἀνδρὸς ἐκβάλλῃ λέχος.

[b] Eurip. Med. v. 263.

Where she puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoys before the Women, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poor *VVife*, if she be well us'd 'tis true, ξυνωδὸς αἰὼν—*no life like hers*—εἰ δ' μὴ,—*but if ill*—θανὼν χρὴ *there is no remedy but death* or *she had better be out of the life*. On the other side, what an honour they counted it to live content

with one Wife, or one Husband at all: and what a disparagement it was to Marry a Second, not onely after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former, *Euripides* will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alceſtes*, thus threatning her Husband, if he married again, though ſhe were dead,

[a] In Alceſt. v. 464.

Εἰ γὰρ γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν ἐκβαλεῖς ἄτερ
Ἥμαξ ἁμαξήλατον ἐν σοὶ συνθήσει.

But was it ſo indeed as *Medea* complained, and was the Woman to be miſerable ſtill without any hopes of redreſſe? no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if ſhe found the Conjugall yoake too ſtrait, and had a mind to ſlip the Coller, ſhe was to make her complaint to the *Archon*: who deputed other Judges to conſider if the cauſe were lawful, and ſo to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that ſhe engage he ſelf to be bound, never to return to her Husbands houſe again: and when this was done, ſhe might either have her Portion back again from her Husband, or elſe ſerve him with a Writ [illegible], or allow her maintenance, and ſo much a Month for uſe, as long as he detained the money.

CAP. XII.

De Mulierum ſceleragogia, & ſervilibus miniſteriis.

BUT now whether the Woman reckon'd it ſufficient cauſe to complain, to be put to ſervile employments, I know not, ſuch abuſes as theſe were many times offered. I do not ſo much ſtand upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread; (whatever [a] *Hecuba* has complained of that imployment) but the baſer ſort of ſervices, ſuch as fetching of water upon their heads: which the poor old Maid in the [b] Poët might juſtly make one of the ſaddeſt parts of her ſlavish condition,

[a] Apud Eurip. Troad. v. 493.

[b] Id. in Elect. v. 55.

— [illegible]

It

It seems the Grecian Women their fashion of carrying water, was the same that ours is now; nay and the Roman too, for c *Ovid* saies of the Vestall Virgin her self (*Sylvia* I mean) (when she went to fetch Water, and slept away her Maidenhead, a good caveat for all sleepy servants) c L. 3. Fast.

Ponitur è summâ fictilis urna Comâ.

And so likewise I did once conjecture that the men amongst them used to carry Water and other things too much in the same manner as they do with us, I mean with things put about their necks, because of that which the Poët saies of *Vlysses* his Marriners, when they took in fresh Water in *Sicily*.

— ἀμφὶ δ' ὠμοισι βάλοντο
Τεύχη σφετερήσιν αὐτὰ βοῶν ἐκ ταμνήσιν
Κρώσσας δ' ὑδρηλὰς —

Now whereas I mention'd onely fetching of water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doors, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other side, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing beseeming to meddle with any thing within doors, or so much as to know what was done there, οὐδὲ ἴσασι τὰ ἔνδον ἐπιόντα ἢ ἔξω ἐξιόντα. It is *Aristotle's* own Oeconomicks, at least ἐκ τῆς Νίκης, though not ἐκ τῆς λέξεως (to use the words of *Tusanus* sometimes professor at *Paris*, who translated into Greek again, that part of the Book which concerns man and Wife, the Originall being lost, and onely a Latine translation of one *Arrhetius* left). And very good reason you will say there is, for *her* to be excus'd from labour abroad, that must keep so close at home, and yet *travell* too: which close confinement made *Medea* thus bemoan the Wives condition. *If any thing grieve her* (saith she) *she has no more company to make known her grief unto, than* μίαν ἐμαυτὴν, *her own poor soul: And where as they object that the husband goes to War, and does this and that, I for my part*, saies she

a τρὶς ἂν, πελτέ' ἀσπίδος
Στῆναι θέλουσ' ἂν, μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ.

a Eurip. in Med. v. 244. to 251.

Three times to bear a shield
Thrice better do it think, than once to bear a child.

And

And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or lesse, according to her Fathers liberality in her Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache* that in this she came *behind* her, though she were otherwise the first Wife: *my Father* (saies she) *sent me hither in a liberal manner.*

a Eurip. Androm. v. 153.

a Πολλοῖς σὺν ἄλλοις. ὡς ἐλευθέρως πέμπει.

With many a good thing. That having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too. Only you that brought nothing with you must goe out of doores. And *she that cannot pay, must be sure to pray.* This argument of hers, her waiting maid afterward *handy'd* back to her again, to put her out of her fear that her Husband would put her away. *For* (saies she) *he did not take you as a Captive, or so, but* b ζῶν πολλοῖς ἤνεγκε, *he had something with on.*

Ib. v. 872.

CAP. XIII.

De Mulierum honestioribus opificiis.

THe employments most usuall and least dishonourable were seeing things handsome and neat in the house, and providing for the workemen abroad, take it in *Electras* own words:

c Eurip. Elect. v. 75.

—σὺ δ' οἴκους δ' ἡμᾶς χρὴ
Εὐδαιμονίζειν, αἰσίους δ' ἔχειν, &c.

d I. Poll. 7. c. 10.

or else working at any kind of Lanifice, either at d ξαίνειν the tozing (shall I say) or the carding of the Wool? or στημονιὰ, when they went to spinne out the στήμων or *stamen*; and διΐζεσθαι (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the rest of the Wooll; or last of all at ὑφαντικὴ the Weaving, and joyning the στήμονες together with the help of the κερκὶς, (the *pectен* or the fley like a comb) and the ἀγνύθες, or the λᾶες, smooth stones (like our smooth lace-sticks, that they might not wear) which hung at the end of the threads. The posture in Weaving was more anciently a standing, but at length (when they were weary) it came to sitting (with the Romans at least) excepting when they made plaine

a Serv. ad Aen. 8

worke

worke, *recta* as the Latines call'd it, down *right* with one thred a crosse and no more; for there was ποικιλικὴ too, and a great deal of variety in some workes, as well as several sorts of workes in the trade; which was the cause why *b Ion* in *Euripides* when *Creüsa* told him of a Bearing cloth of her own Weaving askt her of what sort of making it was.

b V. 14. 18.

Πολλὰ τὰ πολλὰ παρθένων ὑφάσματα.

Unlesse you will confine this ποίκιλμα to the Virgins (as you may seem to have cause from the words but now produc'd) and the Wives and Mothers (or their servants for them) to the plainer work. As it is said, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni omnis causâ liberis confici curabant*. Saies *Festus* the parents among them would make their [illegible]ren none but *plain Cloathes*, to shew they must use themselves to *plain dealing*. And seeing weaving was a worke well beseeming the better sort (as appeares in *Creüsa* the daughter of no worse man than *Erichthens* a King of *Athens*, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra*. if she have put it among her complaints in that verse

Αὐτὰ μ' ἐκμοχθοῦσα καμάτοις πόνει.

That she was kept to weaving. For (it may be) her complaint was rather that she could not be her own Woman, and weave for her selfe, but must be still winning and never wearing, and starve in the Cooks shop. I must tell her thus much from *a Aristotle*, if she liv'd in a state of levelling Democracy, though she were a married Woman (as she was but πολυχείρου παιδὸς) that or any work else would have been thought too much to little purpose. For saies he in such a case, τοῖς ἀπόροις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν οἰκέτας διὰ πενίαν, she must be forc'd to do things her selfe for want of Servants, and so there could be no such thing at all as *Gynæconomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all.

a Polit. l. 6. c. 143.

CAP. XIV.

De Uxorum & Filiarum Occuria.

NOw the Wives besides their γυναικωνίτις, (their Bedchamber shall I call it, or their Attiring room, or their Dining-room, Just as the men had their ἀνδρῶνα) had their b ἐργαστήρια ἴδια too, to work in, as the Virgins had their παρθενῶνα to play in, for I fear me, *vnides chambers sont dames fables* and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

b I. Poll. l. 1. c. 8.

c Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v 737.

Καὶ πῶς γ' ἂν οἴκοι μὴ μόνον τὸν νόστον.

That Maids *at home* should not be left al[one]

Tis true they were kept from *gadding abroad*. In fo[r] that a man would think they had Sentinels set at their Chamber-doores, by the words immediately following the former,

Οἰκουροῦσι παρθένοι σφραγὶς πολῶν.

And if their Daughters, not yet *shut* fast in Wedlock, were kept so in safe custody, and as it were in Prison (for which their οἰκήματα, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a small amends) what strong guards think you would they put upon their Wives, when they *ty'd them up?* as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their a Poëts:

a Aristoph. in Thesmop.

...Ἢ γυναικωνίτιδι
Προσῆλθες ἐπισκέλλουσι, ἵνα μὴ μοιχὸς
Τυφὼς τις ἡμᾶς, ἢ παρύσιν μελανθιχὸς
Τρίβωνος μορμολύκιον τοῖς μισγύοις κύων.

...besides the seales
Upon the Womens Chambers, barres they lay,
To make us sure, nay more, their Massive curs
They keep to fright adulterers away,

No wonder then if the House-keepers of Athens, were *cinuesi* House-dogs (as we call them) or *Keep-houses*, when it was so hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. In which sense you may well take

take that of the ſame Poët in *Lyſiſtrate*: χαλεπὸν γυναικῶν ἔξοδος. For if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were φιλέξοδοι, of a gadding Goſſiping humour) they muſt be ſure to have the attendance of Maides, and their γυναικεῖα σκεύη, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were γυναικονόμοι (as they call'd them) officers of purpoſe, who had power to impoſe a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was poſted up upon a certain plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But what do I talk of *going*, when as Fathers and Husbands, were ſo hard or ſo jealous, as not to ſuffer their Wives and Daughters ſo much as to *look* abroad, or if they were ſuffer'd by them, they ſhould be ſure to ſuffer themſelves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maid took up her Miſtreſs ſo ſhort, when ſhe went forth at doors in a paſſion. a Pollux l. 8. c. 10

b Ἀλλ' ἔνδοθ' ἴθι, μηδὲ φαντάζου πόλιν
Πάρεστιν ἢ ἢ, μή τιν' εἰσίδῃ λάθρᾳ.
Πρόσθεν μελάθρων ἢ δ' ἐρημία, τέκνον.

b Eurip. in Androm. v. 876.

But, pray, get in, and ſhew not thus your ſelf.
Before the houſe, &c.

Where, I dare not ſay, the tranſlator was *Phantaſtick*, to render φαντάζου, *imagineris*: but what ever he ſaies, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpoſe. Nay looking out at a window, was almoſt as bad as looking out at doore; Κἂν ἐν θυρίδι τις ὀφθῇ περιχύδαιον (as the Women complain in *Theſmophoriazuſa* * where you may read more of the grievances) if they did but *peep* out, they would be thought to do it, as other Women us'd to do: and to draw in their head again, the better to draw out the affection of the beholder. Nay farther yet I fear me, ſome of the Daughters had ſcarce the liberty to goe out of one room into another, for ſo it was with *Antigone*, when ſhe went up to the top of the houſe to view the Army, as may well be conjectured by the words of her *Pædagogus* (a Tutor, ſuch as to whom they committed the bring-

* Ariſoph.

ing up, of their Children, Maids or Boyes).

Eurip Phœniſ. v. 8. 8.

Ἐπεὶ σὺ μήτηρ παρθένων ἐκλιποῦσ᾽
Μεθῆκα.

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without *leave*, I know not. I believe they could hardly do it without *company*, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad: for ſo I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* ſaies;

Οὐκ οἴη ἄμμε τῇ γε κατὰ μοῖραν βολὴ ἵκει.

The Womans own private chamber, *Gynæconitis*, *Gynæconites*, or *Gynæon*, (call it what you will) was (ſaith *Didymus*) ὅλῃ two ſtories high, like a neſt, to make it the harder to climbe up to them: for to tell you in his words) ἡ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν οἴκησις ἦν διπλόη τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι διώροφος ἐπὶ τὸ δυσπρόσιτον αὐτῆς. The people of ancient times, built their ὑπερῷα their upper Chamber for the nonce. Ὠὰ and ὠΐα they called them then, inſomuch that *Helena* having been alwaies cloſe bred up in ſuch a Chamber, is thought by ſome to be ſaid to be hatcht of an Egge, either from the *ovall* faſhion of the Roome, or the like ſignification of the name in the Greek. Whether they went up by the Ladder, or a pair of ſtairs, tis not ſo eaſie to determine; as it was to get up, for when I call to mind what adoe the *Pedagogue* (whom I laſtly mention'd) had to help up his pupil by the hand, I am apt to think that κλιμαξ from the *Parthenon*, and the other to *Gynæon*, to have been a ladder, and not a ſtaire caſe: hear how ſhe cries for help:

Ὀρσο παῖ, ὄρσο μεγίστη·
Νίκα χεῖρ ὑπ᾽ κλιμάκων·
Πόδ᾽ ἴχνο᾽ ἐπαντείλαν.

Such a Κλίμαξ had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no ſuch need of help; for Κλίμακα δ᾽ ὑψηλὴν κατέβην καὶ οἶο δόμοιο.

Now a Woman if ſhe went about any work that requir'd expedition, her faſhion was ἐς γόνυ ζώσασθαι, as *a Theocritus* ſaies, to be *nuda genu*, to pin up her coat to her knees, but no farther, for fear of being taken for a doxie. Such a one as in *Heſiod* is called γυνὴ πυρόλη, me thinks not ſo well

a Id. 14.

rendred

rendred *nates crnatæ*, as *adunatæ Juvenalis*, from the *βολὰ*, too short to become the modesty of a Woman, or the use of the word among the Latins. I might here take occasion to speak a great deal of their apparrel, and the other many ornaments which they used about their heads, their necks, their ears, their arms, and their fingers, and twenty other sorts of this kind, but because there has been promised a draught thereof from a pen able to do it, I think it better to hold my hands. Besides, I am of *J. Pollux* * his mind in this, that for a good many of those names which we find in Authors, where they speak of this kind of things, ὑφάσιν τε ἰδιοτρόπους, καὶ τὸ μηδὲν σαφὲς ἔχουσιν ὄνομα καταλιπόντες, οὐκ ἀξιόλογοι, εἰ καί τις χρεία τοῦτ' ἐνίοις, 'tis hard to know what fashion the *things* were of; because it is hard to tell whether the Author be in jest or in earnest in the *names*.

*ἀναισχυντίαν

L. 5. c. 2.

CAP. XV.

De Adulterio.

IF a man had plow'd in another Mans ground, though not as a *Machus manifestarius*, * but by enticements, and in a clancular way, and were taken ἐπ' ἀγρῷ (as they call'd it) *in the fact*; it was counted so much the worse, and he that found him might abuse him as much as he pleas'd: yea & kill him too, if the Cuckold did desire it, and no doubt, but sometimes he had *hay in his hornes*. If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himselfe, he might have him before the *Thesmothetæ*, and cause him to be punished at the pleasure of the * Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing an adulterer, has as little modesty as the crime it selfe. It was called either μοιχεία or ὑστερεσία, *Synecdochically* the part for the whole, for having pluckt off the hair of his privities, they threw hot ashes in the place, and thrust up a Raddish or a Mullet into his fundament, according to that of *Juvenal*, *Quondam machos & mugilis intrat*. Insomuch that ever after he was disgracefully call'd ὑστερεσίας. A punishment little enough for so great a vice, so great I say, that *Solon* is thought to have tollerated the publick use of harlots.

* Plutarch. in Bacchid.

* Poll. c. 9.

harlots, (as I formerly told you) of purpose to prevent it. And for the Woman, having thus violated the Lawes of the Gods (or the men rather, for *they* were better) she was not onely forbid to go to the Temples, but if she went any where else with the ornaments and attire, which other Women wore, it was lawful for any that met her to take them, and tear them; and if her Husband lay with her after, he was branded for Αἰμῶ, *a base companion*. On the other side, if the women were forc'd, and openly abus'd, the Adulterers punishment then was no more than a *fine*. And you will not so much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you consider how the others commit Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman; and is so much the more dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in a private way, than he that must break the door. For proof whereof, if the Adultery of *Ægisthus* and *Clytemnestra*, which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not sufficient, I refer you to that practise of *Sejanus*; who having one a time receiv'd an affront from *Drusus*, had no other way to be reveng'd. *Cuncta tentanti* (saies * *Tacitus*) *promptissimum visum ad uxorem ejus Liviam convertere: hanc, ut amore incensus, adulterio pellexit, ad conjugii spem, consortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit.* In like manner, if a Man had ravisht a young Woman, (so she were free born) his b punishment was a fine, *viz.* a thousand *Drachma*: but then besides that, he was to marry her too (unless it could be made appear she had taken something of him in consideration) which puts me in mind of a story of the *Messenian* in *Pausanias*, who to compell *Aristodemus* to give him his Daughter to wife, pleaded that he had brought her with child: whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kil'd her with his own hand, and cut up her belly worse than *Virginius*. There was a time when a ravisher of a Virgin was to be ston'd shall I say, or pres'd to death, for they called such a punishment λᾶ ἐπὶ χτεῖναι, as some upon these words of *Homer*,

Ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν πάντα κακὸν ἔτι καὶ λᾶας ἐφήσει.

* L. 4. Annal.

b Ista pro Pœna.

LIBER QVINTVS.

CAP. I.

De Puerperarum Religione, &c.

THE *Athenians* (saies *Plutarch* in his *Marriage-exhortations*) had three sacred plowings. One in the *Sciron*, another in the *Rarin*, and another called *Bocagion*. but yet, saies he, ὁ παντων ἱερατικώτατος ἀρότος ἐστὶν ὁ γαμικὸς καὶ σπορὰ, καὶ καλεῖται τῷ ὄντι παιδίων ποίησις, the plowing for Children is the best Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very suitable to a *Conjugal* condition) he agrees with the expressions commonly used by the Greeks of χεῦν, and Ἄρουρα, and Ἄνακτ, concerning the Women. For as * *Aristotle* saies in his *Politicks*, ὁμοίως ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ τὰ γυναῖκα καὶ ἐχόντα, ὥσπερ ἡ τὰ ἔνυδρα καὶ γῆν: as also with the use of the word ἀρῶ for to *beget*, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἀρῶν, & in his *Antigone* ἀρώσιμος in the same sense. So *Aristaenetus* [a] in one of his Epistles (speaking of a Woman to be Married) saies ἵνα σοὶ σπόρος γένηται παίδων. And *Moschus* hath an *Epigram* of purpose upon Ἔρωτος Ἀγροτεύοντος. The Latin word *Satus* answers very well to it, and so would *Insitor* to the word βλαστὸς a bud, and ἐκφυτεύειν, so commonly used in *Sophocles*, and other Authors in the same sense. Now for a Woman with child, it was sometime the custome for about forty daies before her time, to abstain from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Aristotle's* * advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to go every day in Pilgrimage a certain journey, to do service to one or other of the Gods of Generation, ἵνα ἀναχώρωσι τὰς γενέσεως ἕνεκα, and his reason was, that they might not παθωσιν grow unlusty by sitting still, but by this kind of *travelling* pre-

* L. 7. c. 67.

[a] L. 1. Ep. 18.

* Loco prædict.

pare

pare their body for a worse, as *Plutarch* saies, *Lycurgus* caused the Maids of *Sparta* to use the exercises of wrastling, and coyting, and shooting, and the like, that by this meanes having confirm'd their own health and strength, they might make the stronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζονται πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας, wrestle with the *throwes*. The principal God whom they pray'd unto, especially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them Ἐλευθυία ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλεύσεως, from the readinesse to come to the Woman at a call, or a *crying out*.

a Horat. Carm. Sæc.

--Aperire partus[a]
Lenis Ilithyia.--

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and a handynesse or *dexterity*, and willingnesse to perform, she was worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, *quoniam putarent facilè Conceptam alvum egere*, saies *Festus*, and sometimes under the name of *Facilina*.

b Sil. Ital.

--Facilina templa Diana.[b]

Either a *face*, because she was painted with a Torch in her hand, (as if she did but *hold the Candle* to it) and so was *Ilithyia* by the *Greeks*, ὅτι γυναῖκι ἐν ὥρᾳ τοῦ τόκου αἱ ἀδῖνες, (saies *Pausanias in Arcadicis*) because the paines of Travell are so *hot*: or else from *facilis*, *easie and without difficulty to be won*.

c Ovid. Fast. l. 2.

--Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.[c] being likewise for the same reason called by the Greeks τοκετώ as by *Orpheus*, by whom she is also termed Εἰλείθυια Σώτειρα, and ἀδῖνων Ἐπήκοος, and Παυλοχία, because she stood still ready as it were *at the door*; and was always at *hand* to do the worke of a *hand-woman--tu voto parturientis ades*. Or lastly from *facilis easie, and without pain*, because she gave the woman *facilem partum*, as he saies.

Ut solvat partus molliter illa suos.

For the same cause, they gave her also the title of Γενέθλη, as the Latines did that of *Genitalis*.

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis.

To this purpose I remember a jest related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*,

Timæus, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Epheſus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was born: *Non eſſe mirandum, quòd Diana occupata in adjuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravidâ domo abeſſet*: that it was no wonder, because *Diana* was taken up in helping *Olympia*. And yet this jeſt (as dry as it is) *Plutarch* is ſo far from liking, that he ſaies it was *cold* enough to have extinguiſht thoſe flames. Laſt of all ſhe was alſo called ωωτόκος, *quaſi* ὁ εἰς τὸ φῶς ἀγάγων ἢ ζῳοτόκων ἄρχων, ſaies the *a Scholiaſt*, as much as to ſay *Luciſera* or *Lucina*. For by this name ſhe was moſt of all adored by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid*:

Dicite, tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dediſti:
Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.

Now this *Lucina* (ſaith *b Cicero* was nothing but the Moon: *Luna à lucendo nominata eſt, eadem eſt enim Lucina*. And the Moon being (as *Varro* ſaith) *naſcentiũ dux*, was therefore worſhipped by the women in travel, *quòd partus matureſcant ſeptem aut nonnunquam novem Luna curſibus*: or becauſe the Moon by the *filling* and opening moiſture of her influence *graviditates & partus afferat, maturitateſque gignendi*, as the *Orator* ſaid in the ſame place. If you chance to meet with a *Plural number*, as you have in *Homer* —μογέσσοκι Εἰλειθυίῃσι, and in *Ariſtotle* τοὺς πολὺ ἐλαχίστας, &c. you may take it to be in reference onely to ſeveral names of one and the ſame *Diana*. and in eſpecial manner to thoſe three, *viz. Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* above ground, and *Proſerpina* beneath, in regard to which the Women among the Latins uſed to call her *Diva triformis*, in their prayers at the time of Child bearing,

Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimiſque letho
Diva triformis.

Diana ſhould be a Gentle-woman by the number of her names. *Diana*, I ſaid; for that was the ground, or the principal name: all the other names ſeem to be but the deſcant, or ſo many *Epithetes*, and *Surnames* upon it. So in *Euripides* his *Hippolytus* you have

Τὰν δ' ὑλοχῶν Οὐρεσίαν

a Ariſtoph. in Luciſt.

b L. 2. de Nat. Deor.

c L. 4. de lig. Lat.

Τόξων μαδίοισιν
Ἄρτεμιν,

In another Tragedy, Ποδῶν δ' Ἄρτεμιν λοχείαν: and

—φωστῆρι θύσειν θεᾷ. Ἄρτεμις or *Diana* ſtands ſtill the ſubſtantive, and all the reſt hang like ſo many Adjectives. Beſides theſe to the Moon, they talke of other Sacrifices of they know not whom themſelves, whom they worſhipped by the name of Τεττιγάπρις, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus* ſay ſome. So many winds ſays one *a* (that which is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables) But what have women to do with the Wind? it can blow *them* no good, but a *Tympany*; and ſo puff them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *Amalcides*, *Protoclias*, and *Photocreon*; and *Philochorus* ſaies, they were the three firſt men that were begotten: And here I muſt tell you of ſomewhat to be done by the Husband too, for he was to ſacrifice to the Nymphs, and to pray to them then for the bringing forth of the child, as he was afterwards to give them thanks for bringing it *up*. And thus much I conjecture by thoſe words of *Oreſtes*, when one told him that he ſaw *Ægyſthus* ſacrificing to the Nymphs.

a Etymol. Dicion.

a Τεττίαι παῖδων, ἢ περὶ μέλλοντος τόκου;
For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

a Eurip. Elect. v. 616.

CAP. II.

De puerperio, ſeu fœtu maſculo.

FOR the place where they lay in whether it were a Chamber kept of purpoſe for that uſe I cannot tell; neither durſt I conclude as much by the λέχοι θάλαμοι in *b Euripides*, where ſpeaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he ſaies.

b In Bacch. v. 96.

b Λοχίοις δ' αὖ τίκτουσιν
Δᾴδα πρὸς ἀλγήμασι

At the time of travel, they were wont to take *Palm* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a virtue either to *conquer* the pain, (for a Palme branch was a token

of

of *Conqueſt*) or to make them *bear up* under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a palm-branch go downward) according to that of *Theognis*:

——Θεὰ τίκτει πότνια Λητὼ
Φοίνικος ἐλάτην, χρυσὸν ἀραλαμβόν.

I do not read that ever before travel they ſtood in fear of ſuch things as *Incubi*, and *Fauni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as St. *Auſtin* ſaies) ſuppos'd thoſe Hobgoblins *improbos ſæpe extitiſſe mulieribus, & earum appetiſſe, ac peregiſſe concubitū*. Or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpoſe to ſit up all night, one with an Axe, and another with a Peſtle, and another with a Broom, cutting, and beating, and ſweeping at the threſholds to keep *a Sylvanus* off her: I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it happened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the *building* of their houſe? (as the Hebrew phraſe is) for *partu viri fundavit familiam*, ſaies * *Apuleius*, ſuch a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof Κίονα δόμων, ſaies *Lycophron* of *Hector*, and Τεῦξαι ἄμαχον κίονα, ſaies *Pindar* of the ſame. *Iphigenia* her ſelfe, when ſhe dreamt of the fall of a houſe, could interpret the Pillars for ſo many Sons. For ſaies ſhe,

Σπῶλοι γὰρ οἴκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες.

The Males are Pillars of a Family.

And very good reaſon the men ſhould bear the name of the Pillars of the houſe, if the Pillars of the houſe can beare the name and the figures of the men. As they do many of them to this day. *Names* they made choice of the beſt, ſuch as Ἄτλαντες among the Greeks, and *Telemones* among the Latins: but indeed the *figure* was commonly of the worſt, with a bunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibboſi*, according to that in *Martial*.

— *Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo,*

Beſides in ancient time, 'twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar in ſtead of a *Statue*, or the Image of a man.

c D. Civ. Dei l. 15. c. 22.

a Ibid. 6. c. 9.

* L. 10. Met.

CAP. III.

De Infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child ſo ſoon as it was borne, was waſht in Water (or elſe in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedæmonian* faſhion, and deſir'd to *prove*, ſhall I ſay, or to *improve* the ſtrength of the Infant.) Of this waſhing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphytrion* thus,

a Plut. on Lycurg.

Poſtquam peperit pueros, lavare juſſit. nos occapimus.
Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus eſt & multum valet!

And ſo likewiſe in *Lycophron* (for I think it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he ſpeaks of *Priamus* his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla* rather than *Hecuba* her ſiſter, and her ſonne *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill πῶ πιέσαν ἠ τὸ γενθέν, the Mother and the Child, he did it ſaies he.

Πεὶν ὰν λοχείας γοῖα χυτλῶσα δρόσῳ.

from which verſe (after I have ſtarted the queſtion how he came to be called *Munippus*, If he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occaſion given to tell you more of this matter. For the Scholiaſt notes upon the word χυτλῶσα, that after they had waſht the body with Water (heated I ſuppoſe it was: and uſed onely for the cleanſing of the body) they anointed it with oyle, kept in a χύτλον, or a veſſell ſo called, which they had for that purpoſe. The reaſon I believe to be the ſame, for which they did it at other times upon the elder ſort, *viz.* ἵνα εἰ πόροι ὑπὸ θέρμης ἀνεῳγότες κλεισθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλαίου ἐπιψυχῆς, (as the *a Scholiaſt* hath it) to cloſe up the pores againe, after they had been open'd by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of anointing, was ſo conſtantly uſed juſt after the waſhing, that you ſhall have the word χυτλῶσα, ſometimes uſed to ſignifie the ſame, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Jupiter*.

a In Ariſtoph. Plut.

—ἐπὶ

——ἐπὶ μήτηρ μιχάλων ἀπὸ δάκτυλος κίλεων
Αὐτίκα δίζητο ῥόον ὕδατος, ἔχλα τόκοιο
Λύματα χυτλώσατο.

In alluſion to this χύτλωσις [b] *Nonnus* calls the birth of *Bacchus* ἀχήλωτον λοχείων. For coming from ſo cleane a place as *Jupiters* thigh, he had no great need of waſhing. [b] L. 9. Dionyſ.

CAP. IV.

De Cunabulis, &c.

THE Child being waſhed, it was wrap'd in a cloath Woven for the purpoſe by the mother in the time of her Virginity, as may be conjectured by that which *Creüſa* made for *Ion*. In this cloath the *Erechtheidæ* wrought the image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's Ægis*, by the help whereof *Perſeus* had cut it off. Beſides the likeneſſe of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Erichthonius*: who being born of nothing but *Vulcan's* ſeed ſpilt on the ground in forcing of the goddeſſe, and having feet like a Dragon was expoſed and committed by her, to the cuſtody of two vigilant Dragons.

..ᾗσιν Ἐρεχθεΐδαις ἰκαὶ
Νόμος τίς ὅδιν, ὄφεσιν ἐς χρυσηλάτοις
Τέρεσιν πάλαι. Furip. in Ion v. 25. & 14. 27.

Saies the Poët: and from thence came the cuſtome I ſpeake of. And yet perhaps neither thoſe Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing elſe but emblems uſed by the authors to expreſſe the narrow and watchful care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for ſo they are like to have been aſſigned for keepers of other things too; as of the apples of the *Heſperides &c* & that becauſe of their quickneſs of ſight, according to *Feſtus*: *Draconet dicti* ἀπὸ τῦ δρακεῖν, *quod eſt videre: clariſſimâ enim habebant oculorum aciē quâ ex cauſâ incubantes eos theſauris cuſtodiæ cauſâ finxerunt.* Being wrap'd in the cloth inſtead of being put in a cradle, it was either lay'd upon

upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in time of Warre;
Strabo. l. 7. (& thus was *Hercules* himſelf, and the *Lacedæmonians* generally uſed; thus alſo the *Celtæ* uſed the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*.) or elſe upon a *Vannus or Ventilabrum quod alimentorum copiæ & benitatis Symbolum conjectabant*, ſaies *Rhodiginus*, as an omen of peace and plenty.

CAP. V.

De infantis geſtatione circa ſorum, & de nominis impoſitione.

WHen the child was five dayes old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the houſe. At the ſame time the cuſtome was for the Midwives to waſh their hands. Now in token of *joy* for having a child, the Parents bedecked their houſe with Garlands: and in *congratulation* the kinred that intended to be at the *naming feaſt* ſent their γενεθλίας δόσεις (as *Aeſchylus* cals them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have uſed to do with us at *Chriſtenings*. The things which they ſent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepia*, whether as rarities, or for what reaſon, I am yet to ſeek. The verſes of *Enbulus* cited by *Athenæus* c. 2. ſpeaks as if thoſe things were not kept till the feaſt, but us'd the ſame day, as likewiſe Doves, and Thruſhes and coleworts with oyle, and toſted pieces of *Cherſoneſus Cheeſe*, and I know not what: the whole ſolemnity of the day is called Ἀμφιδρόμια, and ſo is the *Genius*, or γενέθλιος δαίμων, ὁ τὰς Ἀμφιδρόμους, from the running about the hearth (which it ſeems was plac'd in the midſt of the roome) or as wee may call it, *Dancing about our cold fire*, for we read of no more but the hearth: but ſurely there muſt be a fire, for *Heſychius* ſaies, thoſe that carried the child muſt be naked. The naming feaſt which I mention'd, was kept upon the ſeventh day after the Birth, ſaies
a *Ariſtotle*: and his reaſon is, becauſe that day was obſerv'd
a L. 7. de. Hiſt. An. to be very critical to moſt things, τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν κατὰ φύσιν τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἡμέραις ἐβδόμαις, and therefore, ſaies he, when that day came,

if

if they perceived the child to be well, *then* they presently gave it a name, ὡς τοῦ παιδὸς μᾶλλον τῇ πόλει, as presuming it would continue so. But (with reverence be it spoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth *night* rather) because the feast which they kept was called δεκάτη, and those which then sacrific'd (for that was to be done first) were said δεκάτῳ θύειν, or δεκάτῳ ἱστιᾶσθαι: & at the same feast (saies *Suidas*) were the kinred wont to meet all together, to be witnesses (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Again, besides the authority of a Scholiast upon the word δεκάτη (in *Avibus Aristophanis*,) I have the plaine testimony of the Poët himselfe in the same Comedy in another place; where he brings in *Pisthetœrus* thus speaking of Athens, in an allusion to the custome

Οὐκ ἄρτι θύω τῷ δεκάτῳ ταῦτην ἐγώ
Καὶ τίθημ' ὥσπερ παιδίῳ νῦν δὴ δέμνια.

Now a [a] Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of his children: but usually the eldest sonne was called by the name of the Grandfather. I cannot say that they kept this name and had no more: for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Proteus* when she came to be elder and wiser, assumed the name of *Theonoe*; * thus *Leucippe* when she was brought, was new nam'd *Lacæna*; and *Ismenias*, *Atracen* when he became enslav'd. And indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Masters, who presently gave them new, such as they thought fit. Either from the Country, ὁ Σῦρος, or the colour and complexion, as ξανθίας or ὁ πυρρίας, or some good quality in him, as ὁ σπουδαῖος, and ὁ ῥίμων, or else from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ Νουμηνίας. At Rome the Master gave them a name of their owne: but 'twas when they set them free, and so a new name was a token of liberty too: or of something better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or some other good fortune: which made him in *Lucian* when an Estate fell to him,

[a] Eust. in Il 5.

Eur. Hel v 13.
*Achil Tat l. 5.
Eustat l. 9.

Phot. Bibliothi. Cod. 27. 9.

See Rev. 2 17.

to-

to change his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*: and thus they took new names when they came to be made Kings; as among the *Persians* &c. or Gods, as every where besides, which appears in those names of *Palæmon* and *Quirinus*, and a great many more.

CAP. VI.

De Puerperarum Lustrationibus.

THE Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the first nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* Λυσιζώνη, (*Cinxia* you may call her in latine) and her clothes too (saies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* Χιτώνη. Untill she were purified, she was as carefully shun'd, as any Woman of the Jewes, insomuch that reckoning her among the μιάσματα they loathed to goe into the house where she lay, as much as if she had layen for dead: or if they had happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint, when they came forth again, they would be sure to wash; whence that of *Diog: Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, καὶ τὴ κύησιν ἢ λοχεῖς ἢ μιάσματι θάνατος: which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides*; when bemoaning the condition of *Orestes*, whom the *Scythians* designed for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, she speak her mind so plainly in relation to her curiousnesse, to have no body come neer her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a slaughter, or a funeral, &c. *I desie.* (saies she *the hypocrisie of that Goddesse what ever she be, that shall take delight in the murthering of men, and yet notwithstanding out of puritie, forsooth shall forbid such & such to come neer the Altars:*

Iphig. in Taur. v. 380.

—α θεστῶν μή τινες ἅψηται φόνε
Ἢ λοχείας, νίκησε δίκη χθόνιον,
Βωμῶν ἀπείργει, μυσαρὸν ὡς ἡγουμένη.

A saying so cutting to the folly of the best of the Heathen Theology, that it would have sounded very well from the mouth of a Christian. For *Thucydides* saies, that the *Athenians*, for fear the holy Isle of Delos should by this means be Polluted,

polluted, made a law, that no Woman ſhould lie in for child there, but ſhe muſt be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Iland neer adjoyning. What day ſhe was purified in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the queſtion put in *Euripides*:

Λέγ' ἡλίκ' ἐσ τὸ πεμπάδιον ἀγνίσει λοχώ.

Whether it were at the time of the πεμπάδιον, the feaſt that was kept at the forty daies end (for ſo many daies ſhe was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were ἐσ δεκάτην σελήνην παιδός, when the child was a *tenne-night* old, (as we ſay a ſeuen-night, counting nothing but the nights: for I do not think it is the tenth *Month*) I doe not well know: but *Electra* ſaies it was ſo,

Δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, ὡς νομίζεται.

Whenſoever the time was, the Woman, after ſhe had waſh'd away her λύματα in the river (as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* ſo called from * thence) ſhe her ſelfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child: and her Husband to the Nymphes for helping him to ſuch a Wife: or both (if you will) to return their thanks, that the child came in its due time. And this one calls παιδὸς ἐκ δαίμονος τελεσθείσης λύσιν. It may be in caſe of weakneſs, or if ſhe were ignorant of rites (as ſhe might be at the firſt) another did it for her, as *Clytemneſtra* did for *Electra* upon her requeſt. But indeed it ſhould be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemneſtra* her ſelfe confeſſed,

* Pauſan. in Ach.

Ἄλλης πάρεστιν, ἥ σ' ἔλυσ' ἐκ τόκων. Eurip. Electr. v. 11.18.

During her lying in, the greateſt part of her food was colewort.

CAP. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurſes during the time of ſucking, were called τίτθαι (from τίτθος the ſame that μαστοὶ the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (ἀπογαλακτίζωσιν) γραῖαι dry

Nurſes. Now the cuſtome was for the Nurſes (the better to harden the Children *uſu liberioris* * *auræ*, and to make the Nurſes the more neat and cleanly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies, and in the ſtreets: and in caſe they ſhould be unquiet, the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of *Ariſtophanes*,

* Rhodig. ex Plat.

Δάσμοι χυτρίδιον σπογγιᾶς ἐβεσμένον.

Saies, they were wont to have a ſponge full of honey, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpoſe. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedæmonian* the fitteſt for a Nurſe, (& ſuch a one *Alcibiades* had himſelfe) Or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were ſo proud, that they counted it a diſparagement to them, to be Nurſes themſelves. And therefore the Woman in *Demoſthenes*, when it was objected to her, that ſhe had ſometimes uſed this baſe imployment, was fain to excuſe it by the neceſſity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. And ſo likewiſe you ſhall find *Hecuba* in *Euripides* complaining of her unhappineſſe, that ſhe muſt be forced to ſuch an office as this was. When they would *lull* (as we call it) or *lall* a child aſleep, they uſed *lallare* to cry, λάλα, or βαυκαλᾶν, to ſing ſongs to it, Their ſongs they called καταβαυκαλήσεις, and ſometimes ναίνιαι. (for ſo is *nania* uſed in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius lib.* 7. *Somno occupari ut poſſint leves audiendæ ſunt naniæ.*) ſuch a kind of ſong is that in *Theocritus*.

Εὕδετε μὰ τὰ βρέφεα γλυκερὼ καὶ ἐπήρατον ὕπνον,
Εὕδετε μὰ τὸν μικκὸν, ὃν ἀβλαβίαν ἔχετον τέκνα.
Ὀλβιοι εὐνάζοισι δόμοι ὄλβιοι ἔχουσι.

Sleep my little ſoules, &c,

For thus they were wont to καταυδίζειν to the child, calling it alſo ſometimes ποδᾶν or ποδωνίαν, or ζωοφυλάκιον, and the like.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

De expositione Infantum.

BUT we ſhall have no need to trouble our ſelves to get Nurſes, if the child either dye of it ſelfe, or be *expoſed* to dye by the Parents. If it dye in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth, ſaies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold burial without any fire, or any funeral ſacrifice or ſolemnity in Mourning or otherwiſe. As being (in the words of * *Juvenal*) *minor igne Rogi.* Which practice is by *Plutarch* in his *Conſolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to perſwade her not to grieve for the death of her child, ſaies he, ἐλλ' ἦν ἀθάνατον ἡ πολυτελείας παντοίας ἄξιον τὸ τεθνηκός. The cuſtom of *expoſing* children, which the Grecians call ἐκτίθεσθαι, with the people of ancient times was very uſual; it was exerciſed upon ſuch Children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. We * read indeed that *Moſes* was uſed thus, becauſe he was טוב or a goodly child: but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, than *expoſed* to the river. This practice was in moſt places at the pleaſure of the parent. But at *Sparta*, I read, that they took better advice: for there they had a Committee of purpoſe called by them λέσχη, appointed to examine every childe, whether it were εὐτραφὴς καὶ ῥωμαλέος *ſound*, or not. The places where they expoſed them, were ſometimes Rivers and Lakes, ſuch as *Moſes* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Unkle *Æmilius*, ſometimes a ſinke or a gurter, according to that in *Juvenal*.

Sat. 6.

Exod. 7. v. 2.

—*vetaque ſæpe*
Ad ſpurcos deceptæ lacus.

Sometimes a deep pit, ſuch as the *Lacedæmonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all, ſometimes Woods and deſert places, ſuch as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* ſaies: *& in alta nemora pabulum miſit feris Avidis*— and ſometimes the wide Sea, as *Juſtin* ſaies of one *Habides*, (if that be his name,) *Gargoris Habidem nepotem ſuum in mare*

jici jussit. If a child were expos'd any where upon the Land, after they had swathed it τῆς σπαργάνοις *fasciis*, they put it in an earthen pot. Such a pot some would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria*.

—*verum vidi Cantharum.*

Suffarcinatum. As if it were *Suffasciatum*. Whereas others would have you read it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *suffarcinatam*, for as much as *succinctam*. It is sometimes called ὄστρακον. as by *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, where he speaks of *Oedipus* thus,

—αὖ τὸν γανδύσιον·
Ἐξέφηνεν ἐκ τοῦ ὀστράκου—

And sometime χύτρα, saies the Scholiast upon the same place, whence comes χυτρίζειν *exponere*. What kind of thing that ἔκθεσις was, wherein *Creusa* expos'd her Bastard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or whereof it was made, I cannot so well determine. *Euripides* saies it was ἄσκος a vessel, and that *Ion* the child was wrapt up in a skin, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

—ἀναπτύξας σκύτος
Εἱλικτὸν ἀνθήκην.

Me thinks it might be rendred *arca*, and more properly so than *Moses* his תֵּבָה can be: for first he saies there was σκύτος εἱλικτὸν skin or leather, roll'd or folded up, such as some of our Chests have. 2. It was fasten'd or lock'd of one side: ἀνθήκη from ἀνὰ and τίθημι, as our trunks are. 3. it was round also, and fit to be tumbled as he saies,

κἀκπεσοῦσ' ἐπὶ σοὶ δαιδάλοις
Κεῖται ἐν ἀνθήκης σοτεροῖς κύκλῳ.

And for ἄγος, that will serve well enough for any such thing, as well as *vas*, or a *vessel*. If the child were expos'd on the Water, it was usually put in a thing made like a basket, made of oziers, or bulrushes, dawb'd and clos'd with slime and pitch, such as that we read of in * *Exodus*. But though they thus set him *out* to the mercy of fortune, they would be sure to set him forth too, in the best manner they could, with rings, and jewels, and garlands, and many precious ornaments,

* C. 2. v. 3.

naments, either in a way of mourning, to do as they did to the dead, according to that

——αἰὼ εἰχε παῖδ' ὃν ἐκ χλιδῆς
Τέκνῳ πρεσβεύσας' ἄλιτον, ὡς θανουμένῳ. [a] Eurip. Ion. v. 26.

Or in a way of care and providence; that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to find it so lying, and would * *take it up* (as they call it) he might have his τροφῆα, or θρεπτήρια, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand: and if it dyed, there might be enough for him, that would bestow the paines, to bestow the cost too in the burying, according to that in *Terence.* * Tollere.

—cum exponendam do illi, digito annulum *Heauton. Act. 3. Sc. 1.
Detraho, & eum ut una cum puellâ exponeret
Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.

These παῖγνια, or *crepundia*, most commonly were fastned about their necks, and were therefore called περιδέραια, as they were likewise called γραϊδιαμα, for they were many times, bottles and bells, and such like toyes. (and so you must distinguish betwixt ornaments & markes) because they were for another end yet besides the former, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῶνται (saies * one) not to adorn him, but to mark him so as to know him again, and to set the parents name therein, as we use to fasten collars and such like thinks, about the necks of our dogs: and it may be the rattle bels were fastned to find him by the noise, as we do our Hawkes. For you must know, every child that was exposed, was not exposed with this intent to be killed (as some would have *exponere* and *necare* to be little different) for many times they did it to hide it only, out of fear it would be killed, if it were not exposed (as it was with *Moses*:) and sometimes (if it were a Bastard) they put it out of purpose to have some body nurse it, for if she bred it up her selfe, every body would know it. Besides, when they were exposed with that intent, the parents for the most part had not their ends, for none have proved more famous men than such as were exposed, as might be made appear by sundry examples. At the best, exposing in my mind was very hard dealing and therefore the *Thebans* (whom *Ælian* * Dio Chrysost.

commends for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it, and so did the Romans too afterwards: among whom no exposed child could be free of the city. And yet *Aristotle* could afford to prescribe it, ἴσως νόμῳ μηδὲν ἀπορριπτούμενον τρέφειν. But he was then in *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Physicks*, i. e. his natural affection. Our *putting out* children to Nurse, many times proves little better than exposing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country, where it might live in secret, and secure from an enemy, as *Orestes* did *Phocis*, from the rage of *Ægysthus*. And therefore *Sophocles* speaking of his manner of life in his youth calls it κρυπτὸν βίον; & so you might have called him λυκοθρεμμόνα, in the words of *Lycophron*: but enough of exposing. I will proceed to speak of the customs they used in education: onely, because their practice was different according to the birth of the child, it will be necessary to speak a word first of the several sorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

CAP. IX.

De Liberorum diversitate.

ACcording to the Scholiast upon *Homer*, there were four sorts of Sonnes. 1. Ὁ γνήσιος, or ἰδιογνὴς, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀστῆς καὶ γαμετῆς, the Son of a married free Woman. 2. ὁ νόθος, *qui Latinè reddi non potest*, saies * *Quintilian*, the son either of a forreign Woman, or a Concubine; such a Son, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to do with the name, or the kinred of his Father, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀγχιστείας saies *Aristophanes*: [a] and if the case were thus when the *Mother* was a stranger, how just a cause had *Ion* in the Poet, to complain as he did?

* L. 3. c. 6.

[a] In Avib.

Eurip. v. 591.

Πατρὸς τ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰ' αὐτὸς ὢν νοθαγενὴς
Μηδὲν κ' ἐλλὰν ὢν κακλήσομαι,

But if the Father were a Prince, or some great Potentate (if we

we may believe *Eustathius* upon [b]*Homer* concerning *Teucer*, who was a *nothus* himself) being *well* born he must needs be *lawfully* born, and so he was held in as great esteem as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance. *consuetudinis Regiæ fuit ut legitimam uxorem non habentes aliquam licèt captivam tamen pro legitima haberent, ut liberi ex ipsa nati succederent*, saies *Servius*. Whereas the other must be pop'd along with a *portion* onely of a thousand *drachmæ* at the most: * this portion they called τὰ νοθεῖα, which they had in the nature of gifts, like מתנת which [a] *Abraham* gave to the sonns of *his* concubines: it was the value of πέντε μνῶν of five *minæ* saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes in Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (*Jupiter's* bastard by *Alcmena* the wife of *Amphytrion*) when *Pistheteros* had told him, that being νόθος, by the Law he could not lay claime to the least part of his fathers estate, makes answer thus;

Τί δ' ὢν ὁ πατὴρ δώσει τὰ χρήματα
Τὰ νοθεῖα;

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no law against that? But the other reply'd again and confuted his answer, by urging *Solons* Law, which ordered indeed, that the *nothi* should μεῖναι τῶν χρημάτων, have the estate shared among them in portions, but it must be onely for default of legitimate children, and not otherwise. This Law is mentioned by *Demosthenes* in his speech περὶ Μενέξενον. Thirdly, ὁ ἀπάτωρ an *obscure* son, whose Father we know not. in Latine *Spurius* or *Favonius*, as if he were nothing but *terræ filius*, rising out of the ground like the *wind*; or as if he were *begotten of the wind*, (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the help of a Father; like the egges which they call ἀνεμίαια, made by the hens without the help of the cock. In allusion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan* ἀνεμίαιον παῖδα, because they feigned him to be *born* of *Juno*, but *begot* of the *Wind*, or they knew not whom 4ly. Ὁ παρθενίας, ὃν τις ἐκ τῆς ἀδείας ἢ παρθένου γάμου φωραθείσης ἐκτίθεται, saies Pollux; A *Son born in Wedlock, of a woman with child when she married, whom the Husband took for a Maid.* To these may be added, first,

[b] Il. 8.

Harpocr.

Gen. 25. c. 6.

ὁ Ζεύς

ἄθετητος or ὁ θετὸς, a *ſon* not *begotten*, but *made*, or *adopted*: of whom (it may be) I ſhall ſpeak more anon. Secondly, ΒΑΛΔ'ΔΕΡΩ *liber*, whoſe father was ἀπελεύθερος *libertus*, *made free*, and thirdly ἐξελεύθερος *ingenuus*, the ſone of ἐλεύθερος. Any ſon begotten by a Father in his old age, or the onely child, or the onely beloved, they uſually caled * πάλυητον,

* Poll.

CAP. X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is ſaid of Greece, that it took the beſt courſe in breeding up of children, of any Countrey in the world. In ſo much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of Κεκροπίδα, by way of excellency above the reſt. But how is it then that *Homer* gives the ſame to *Ithaca*, as *Cicero* does that of a *Nidulus*? In *Ariſtophanes* his *Theſmophoriazuſæ*, the *Præco*, calling upon the Woman, to provide to ſacrifice to ſuch and ſuch Gods, among the reſt brings in

Καὶ τὴν Κεκροπίδου τὴν χθόνα.

But whether this χθόνα here be *Tellus* in general, the Mother and the Nurſe of the Creatures, or whether it be only *Tellus Attica*, *Athens* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the beſt Nurſe of the *beſt*, I know not; but thus much is deliver'd by *Suidas*, *viz.* that *Eriſthonius* the poor expoſ'd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankfull acknowledgment of his education in that land, firſt ſacrificed to this Γῆν Κεκροπίδα, and having built an Altar of purpoſe to her, made a Law that whoſoever would ſacrifice to any other God, ſhould ταύτην πρῶτον θύειν, do it to her firſt. Well let us ſee a little what their manner of educatioa was. They ſay the Children were uſually taught φῶτα κολυμβᾶν, Νήπια γράμματα, *firſt to ſwimme and dive, and then to read*; Very good method. If the Father was poor, he was brought up to a trade; if able and rich, to Philoſophy, Muſick, Gymnical exerciſes, hunting, and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in caſe his Father ſhould come to poverty, he was not bound to maintain * him, as otherwiſe he was.

* Plut. in Solon.

Many

Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintain'd by the greater ſort in a leſtfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were called their ἀκόλουθοι, *Pages*: all ſuch *Catamites* or *Ganymedes* were uſually called * πῶλοι, though I know, πῶλος and πωμὸς too, are frequently uſed by *Sophocles* and others, in no ill meaning at all. * Heſych.

CAP. XI.

De Puerorum Caſtigatione &c.

IF a boy at any time were refractory, and ſtubborn in committing a fault, the beſt means the Mother could uſe to perſwade him to leave it, was to ſhew him her breaſts, ὡς πρὸς ἱκετείας, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Eutipides*, as the moſt powerful motive ſhe had. But the Fathers and the Maſters took another courſe with him. If a boy had deſerved to be whipt, he ſhould be ſure enough of his wages from *them*, for they tyed him faſt πρὸς ξύλον, to a *block*, to make him *kiſs the poſt*; or πρὸς πασσάλους, to a *ſtake*, or a *pinne*, and ſo whipt him. And thus to be puniſhed they called it διαπασσαλεύεσθαι. Διαπασσαλεύθητι γαμεῖ, ſaies he in a *Ariſtophanes*, which is rendred by *Friſchlin*, *Diſtentus affigêre humi*, as if they ſtretcht him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck, & armes, and leggs to pins faſtned in the ground for that purpoſe, to keep him from ſtriving. I know not whether this were the ſame as they called ὁ τυμπανίζεσθαι, or ὑποτυμπανίζεσθαι. But I think that to have been rather the ſtretching or pulling off the skinne, onely *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drumme. Of which perhaps the Poët ſpeaks when he ſaies. Ἢ βύρσης ἢ δερηστοῖν, from the, δέρη, or the ſtoole, whereon they ſtretcht him or beat him, as they would a skin or a hide. That torture of one of the ſeaven brethren in the *Maccabees*, pulling his skin off his head, may very well be reduced hither. And indeed I doe rather think the true ἀποτυμπανισμὸν to have been a torture or a rack exerciſed upon any by Tyrants, rather than a puniſhment

a In Equit.

b Ep ad. Hebr. c. 11. v. 35.

c L. 2 c. 7. v. 7.

nishment of boyes and children by their Masters. For so *Aristotle* in the second book of his *d* Rhetorick, saies that *Antiphon* the Poët, was used by *Dyonysius* the Tyrant. And in the fifth * Chapter of the same Book, speaking of the want of all fear, in such as had already suffered the extremity of evils, he instances in those that are thus used; ὥσπερ οἱ ἀποτυμπανιζόμενοι. And so *Plutarch* in his book *de Adulatione*, cries out upon those flatterers of *Ptolomy*, that even τυμπανιζομένῳ, *when he was thus racking and torturing of men*, durst not open their mouths to dissuade him. But yet I believe also, that there was an easier kind of τυμπανισμὸς when they would but beat a fellow with clubs, which they called τύμπανα. (if that be not rather the word for the block, upon which they suffered, for the Scholiast on these words of *Aristophanes* in *Pluto*, Ω τύμπανα χώστωνες——saies both ἐφ' οἷς, *on* which, and οἷς, *with* which they beat him.) And that boyes were punished with such a thing, I have cause to think, from these words of *Plutarch* ἀποτυμπανίσαι παιδάριον, &c. But to return to the punishment wich the *Passalus*, I know the word πάπαλος in that Poët, is more often used to expresse another manner of handling a man, by any body else as well as a Master. For instance, in *Thesmophoriazusæ*, when one kept a great deale of noise, and would not be silent, another threatens him to put a φίμωτρον in his mouth.

——ἐμβαλῶ σοι,
Τὴν ἄμπελον, ἢν μὴ σιωπᾷς?

Where the Scholiast saies he alluded to the trick (used with us also) of thrusting a stick in a Hogs mouth, when they would see whether it had τὰς χαλάζας, the *Haile*, or the Meazles or no: nay in the Poet himselfe in *Equites*, you have one threatning to use another in this very manner. That fashion of tying the boyes to a stake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themistius* under the name of περισταλδεῖν in his first Oration, where speaking of a *Plagosus Orbilius*; that used to *pay* the poor and Fatherlesse children to the purpose, because they could pay *him* no better, saies he, παιδεία ἀνεχὴ θεῶν παλλάκων, &c. And so *Prometheus*, whom

d L. 2. c. 8. t. 38.

T. 24.

the Gods tyed to *Caucasus*-hill for ſtealing fire, is ſaid by *Menander*, to have been παγκρατιαλδιδόσθαι, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks;

Εἶτ' ἐ δικαίως παγκρατιαλδιδόμην
Τοιούτος ἢ Προμηθέα φεῖς ἢ πίτυας.

Where he prettily pleads his cauſe, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for ſo ſmall a matter. Nay the power of a Father over a child went farther yet: For firſt, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to do it, unleſſe it were found in the act of adultery) any one might ſell his child when he pleaſed. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had been faulty, might ἀποκηρύξαι υἱόν, *abdicare filium ſuum*, turn him out of doors. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cauſe, ſaies * *Demoſthenes*: and then the Κήρυξ, or the Cryer, went about, and cryed that ὁ δεῖνα, ſuch a one did deny τὸν δεῖνα, ſuch a one to be his Sonne any longer. He that was thus uſed, was ſaid ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ γένους, to be rejected out of the Family, and was called ἀποκήρυκτος. If he were received into favour again, he was ſaid ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος, to be taken into the family again: and then he could never be abdicated any more.

a Plut. in Sol.
b Lucian.
* Περὶ Στεφάνου.

CAP. XII.

De aſcriptione in φρατρίαν.

THe Sonnes when they came to be three years old at the ſooneſt, and ſeven at the lateſt, were carried by their Fathers to the φράτορες, and regiſtred in the Tribe. But before they could be regiſtred, the Fathers were to take their Oathes that the children were theirs: and yet notwithſtanding the Oathes, thoſe heads of the Tribe if they liſted, might queſtion the matter, and put them to a ſuit in * Law. The time on which this was uſually done, was the third day of the Feaſt Ἀπατούρια. Which was ſo called, either according to the Etymological dictionary, becauſe the ſons, which before might be thought ἀπάτορες εἶναι, to have *no Father*, did

* Demoſt. περὶ Μακάρτ.

now make it appear, who the Father was. Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, becauſe at that feaſt, οἵ πατέρες καὶ οἱ ξυγγενεῖς ξύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the fathers met altogether: and ſo it muſt be call'd Ἀπατούρια, in that manner as a wiſe is call'd, ἄλοχος, for ὁμόλεκτρος, or ἄκοιτις, for ὁμόκοιτις. where A is ὀτικὸν, and not a privative, as likewiſe in ἄπυρος, & many other ſuch words. The third day of the feaſt was called by the name of Κουρεῶτις, ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶς, as who would ſay a *Shearing-feaſt*: becauſe at that time they uſed to *cut their hair*. The hair which they cut, they called μαλλὸν, or σπολὸν, or ἀπαρχεῖον πόκωμα, in oppoſition to ταφικὸν, that which they cut at a funeral. This *lock* (as I think it was) they had nouriſhed of purpoſe till that time, and conſecrated to the honour of one of their Gods: as may appear by the practice of *Bacchus* himſelf: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing elſe to diſſwade him, but to tell him it was *ſacred*, (like the lock of the * *Nazarites*.

L. 1. Exhort.

Num. c. 6. v. 5.

a Eurip. in Bacch. 494.

ἁγιεὺς ὁ πόκωμος τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.

And thus *Theſeus* is ſaid to have conſecrated his hair to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The hair thus cut, becauſe it was the firſt time that ever they cut it, and becauſe it was done by way of an offering, they called κόμης ἀπαρχὰς, *the firſt fruits* of the hair, (for the word both Engliſh, Greek, and Hebrew, is applicable to any thing that is firſt.) Such firſt fruits of his Beard

b Suetonius c. 12. ejus vitæ.

b Nero put into a Golden boxe, which he adorned with pretious jewels, and laid it up in the Capitol.

If the children were of a noble blood, they would go as far as *Delphos* to give it to *Apollo*. But if others, ſome to one God, and ſome to another (I think they had their choice, for there were Gods enough of conſcience) at *Rome*, beſide *Apollo*, whom ſtill one or other was careful to ſupply (notwithſtanding his own *Intonſum caput*, and his long hairy beames)

Martial.

Hos tibi, Phœbe, vovet totos a vertice crines,

Æſculapius was remembred too: For *Statius* ſpeaks of one *Earinus*, that ſent his hair to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious box beſet with Jewels, and a looking glaſs beſides,

Mar. Ep. 99.

—dulceſque capillos,

Pergameo

Pergameo posuit dona sacrata Deo.

How was it then that the Vestal Virgins hung up theirs upon a *Tree*: which *Festus* saies they kept for the purpose, by the name of *Capillaris*? The Nuns, the Vestal virgins of these times have no such need, they have Gods and Saints enough; and to one of them they bestow a *love lock* for *entrance*, as I have heard it reported. But let me not run on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is asserted by some, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and divers others say, that this registring in the Tribe book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteen years old, and the enroling of them into the Λυξιάρχικον γραμματεῖον at eighteen: according to that of *Pausanias in Eliacis*, where he saies, that after they were eighteen years old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boys any longer. But as yet, I dare be so bold as to be of a contrary mind. For first, *Proclus upon Plato's Timæus*, saies, that when they went to be registred, they were τριετεῖς ἢ τετραετεῖς, three or four years old, and there is my authority. 2dly. *Cnemon in Heliodorus* saith, he was registred as soon as he went to School, which is like to have been sooner than at fifteen years old: and there is my example. 3ly it is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Regiſtring they offered up the *first fruits* of their hair: and it is not likely they should let it alone till fifteen years of age, and there is my reason. But, *Si quid novisti rectius &c.* it is all one to me.

CAP. XIII.

De ascriptione in Ephebornm censum, & in album Lexiarchicum.

WHen they came too, be eighteen years old εἰσήεσαν εἰς ἡβήν, they were listed among the number of those that were ἥβοι *puberes*. And to this purpose they had certain Officers appointed to search them to see whether they were so or no. and to prove them whether they were able (as they)

they called it) περιπολεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, to keep Guard, or doe ſervice in the City, (of which hereafter.) This ſearch or examination was called Δοκιμασία. If they were found to be *pubers*, ſound wind and limb, and like to prove Souldiers; they were laid in the Temple of *Argulus*, where they took a ſolemne oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the Gods and the Country. The time when this was done was upon Κουρεῶτις too, and that may be the occaſion of the difference I lately ſpake of. Neither were theſe latter rites performed without cutting of hair too. But commonly the faſhion was, either then, or at any other time but the firſt, to conſecrate their hair, not to this or that God, but to the rivers, eſpecitlly ſuch as belonged to the Country they lived in τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ποταμοῖς. Thus much may be gathered from [b] *Pelens* his *vow* to conſecrate his hair to the River *Spirchius*, if *Achilles* returned in ſafety: and [c] *Memnons* performance of the like to the river of *Nilus*: ſo (as * *Paul* ſhaved his hair at *Cenchreæ*, upon the like occaſion,) The Nazarites, when *they* cut their *hair of* * *conſecration*, were to make uſe of the contrary Element, and to throw it in the fire. But amongſt the Greeks the cuſtome of paying tribute for their hair, when they cut it, to the *VVater* (as to a principall cauſe of life and growth) was very uſuall both in men & women, eſpecially in times of mourning, when they cut it moſt. I remember *Helena* in *Euripides*, where ſhe bemoans the condition of the poor *Trojans*, and the ſad fruits of the Warre, ſpeaks of ſuch a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamander*.

Schol. in Hom. Il. ϕ.

[b] Pauſan in att

[c] Philoſtr.

Act 18. 18.

Num. c. 3.

Ἀπὸ δ' ἁβρὸν πέπλοις κόμας
Ἔσπευσε συγγόνοις νεκροῖς
Σκαμάνδρου ἀμφὶ ῥεύματα ὀδμὰ,

[a] Eurip. Helen. v. 372.

Unleſſe you had rather think it was done (according to the cuſtome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I ſhould have told you that before they cut their hair, (I mean when they went out *Ephebi*) they firſt took a veſſel of Wine (κίρνον οἶνον, ſaies *Heſychius*) and having conſecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there preſent. This ceremony, they called

τὸν

τὸ οἰνίσθεια from the Wine. And here it may not be amiſſe, to mention the diſtinction, which you ſhall find in the Poets of two ſeveral waies of cutting their hair, in uſe among the Greeks. The one was κῦπος, when they did but pare their hair, as they would do the borders in a *garden*: the other called σκάφιον, when they ſhaved it ſo cloſe to the skinne, that they made the head look like a Σκάφη, a *Skiffe*, or a boat. When they came to be two years *pubers*, ἐπὶ δυοῖν ἥβαν, (as *Demoſthenes* calls it) or twenty years old, τότε καὶ δοῦλος ἱστορήθη τοῦτον they wrote men, or they became *ſui juris*, and their names were regiſtred by the *Demarchus* in his Λεξιάρχικον λεύκωμα, *in Albo Lexiarchico* a book wherein he kept the names, of all thoſe that belonged to his *Demus*. It had this name ἀπὸ τῆς λήξεως, (or τοῦ κλήρου) ἄρχειν, becauſe as ſoon as any one's name was written therein, he might be *maſter* of an eſtate *himſelfe* if he had it. Beſides this book, there was πινάκιον ξύλινον a table of box-wood, wherein every one was to ſet down of what *Demus* he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the women, they were not wont to be entred into any tribe, till the time when they came to be married, and that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred in the Month of *Pyanepſion*.

CAP. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumnis præbenda.

WHen the Father came to *age*, or *neceſſity*, if the Son refuſed to ſupport him (unleſs he were a *nothus*, or had not been breed up to a *calling*) he might be ſerved with a Writ τῆς κακώσεως τῶν γονέων, and if he were convicted, his puniſhment was to be excommunicated all Society, both ſacred and civil; and to be fined a mulct beſides. This maintenance and ſuccour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not onely to his Parents, but to any friend elſe, o whom he owed his education: and thence it was called τροφεῖα, and τροφὴ δίκη, or τροφεία, in Latine *Alimenta*.

This

This debt they reckon'd themselves so stongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and grieved for nothing so much, as to die before it was paid, according to that in the Poet; *Iliad.* δ'.

ἐν ᾗ πυθοῖτ
Θρεπτῆς φίλοις ἀπίσσων μισθὸν ἀποδοῦναι τε τοκεῦσιν
Ἐλθὼν - - rendred by *Val.* [a] *Flaccus* thus.

[a] L. 6.

—nec reddita charo
Nutrimenta patri brevibus præreptus in annis.

Insomuch that the Parent might very well say to his children [b] *Non est beneficium quod poscitis, sed facinus quod negatis.* And indeed I must needs say thus much for them, I have found them for the most part, very careful to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in use among them, *viz.* If a Father had been any time abroad, when he came home again, the Daughters themselves, presently fell to washing his feet, and anointed them with oyle, ὅτι ἐπεμέλουν τοὺ πατέρας ἡ τοὺ γέροντας saith the Scholiast, insomuch that *Euphron* (saith he) thought that *Homer* had used the Epithete λιπαρὸς for the feet, in allusion to this anointing. (it may be) they used to kisse them too (as *thee* did the feet of our Saviour) for so saith he of his Daughter in *Aristophanes.*

[b] Quintil decl. 6.

[a] In Arist. Vesp.

——ἡ φιλῶτα μ' ἡ θυγάτηρ
Ἀποπίζει, ἡ πὰ πόδ' ἀλείφει ἡ προσψῶσα διλόγει.

Eurip. Med. v. 133.

For the Children thus to maintain their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to *feed* the *old ones* like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word γηροβοσκεῖν, and so *Medea* uses the word to her children at parting.

— εἶχον ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν γηροβοσκήσειν τ' ἐμέ.

Next to the charges of *maintaining* the parent when he is *old*, are those of *burying* him, when he is *dead*; and those to be borne by the Sonne too. And therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay down that life in *his* room, which being then very old, he must shortly leave

leave in his own; *Well* (saies he) *I am to be reckoned but a dead man, & you for your part, are not like to have any more sons now:*

a Οἱ γηροτροφήσουσι καὶ θάψουσά σε
Παῖδες τελοῦσι, καὶ νεκρὸν στολιοῦσ' ἐμόν.

a Idem in Alcest. v. 664.

That will you *feed*, and shrowd your head,
And *Lay you forth* when you are dead.

And now that we have brought the man so neer his end: we will shew him what course he is to take for the disposing of his estate, only because if he should have no children at all, or none such as they should be, there might be a doubt what to do; I will speak a word of that first.

CAP. XV.

De adoptione, testamento, & hæreditate.

IF a man had either no child at all, or none that was γνήσιος, *free born*, he had power * to adopt him a *nothus* or any one else. And this was to be done after the manner of a Will, sign'd and seal'd in the presence of the Magistrate, as their wills were wont to be. Whosoever was thus adopted, must first be made free of the City, and then be ascrib'd into the Tribe (or fraternity) of him that adopted him. But this last was to be done upon the feast of Θαργήλια in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. Having thus left his *old* tribe (which they were not bound to do among the Romans) he was not to return to it again, till he had begotten a child in the *new*. As for the mans estate it passed to another, either κατὰ γένος *by descent*, or κατὰ διαθήκας *by virtue of a will*. Now by *Solons* laws (for before their estate could not be convey'd but to those of the kinred) a man might make any body his heire of any estate, that he had, which was not in controversie, but with these six qualifications. First he himself must be no fool nor Mad-man. 2. No prisoner, so as to make his will against his will: for then it could be no Will. 3 No stranger: for then his estate went to the common treasure. 3. No adopted man: for such a

* Isæ. de Arist.

Demost.

ones estate if he wanted a child, was to pass to the * next of the Adopters kinred. 5. Not perswaded thereunto by his Wife: for such a one (saies my *Author) μωλαξολόγῳ δοκεῖ, *is little better than a mad man.* 6. Not having a male child of his own, for then the inheritance should go to him. And if there were more males than one, they were to be ἐπίσιοι, *coparsners*, or *joynt-tenants.* But in case he had no male child at all, and died without a Will, the estate fell to the next Male of the Kinred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had, were not γνήσιοι, *free born and legitimate:* the Daughter was to be ἐπίκληρος, or μονογενὴς ὁμοῦ, sole heir. And therefore *he* in *Aristophanes Avibus*, told *Hercules*, *Minerva* could not possibly be ἐπίκληρος to *Jupiter*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate sons:

* Demost. ad Leochar.

*Id cont. Olympiodorum.

—πῶς ἂν ποτε
Ἐπίκληρον τὴν τοῦ Διὸς Ἀθηναίαν δοκεῖς;
Οὐ σὺν δυοῖν τοῖν ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφοῖν γνησίοιν.

I say this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her, became the heire by the marriage. A Woman of a Boy, if they made a Will, could not go beyond μέδιμνον κριθῶν: six bushels, (they say it is) or the value of such a measure of Barly. He to whom the estate did passe, by what way soever it were, was forthwith to make his claim to it before the Prætor: which thing they called κλῆρον λαχεῖν, or κλῆρον κατὰ τὸν κλῆρον. And if any one would ἐνδικάσασθαι, lay in any thing to defeat the claim, he was to prosecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies. I shall therefore endeavour to shew him how to have that done too in the amplest manner, onely first, I will satisfie him of the necessity of having a burial.

Isæus de Arist.

Demost. contr. Stephan.

CAP.

CAP. XVI.

De neceſſitate ſepulturæ.

I Remember *Cicero* in *his Topicks*, divides juſtice into three kinds, *unam ad ſuperos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem:* of the ſecond kind of juſtice *viz. to the dead*, I do find every where among the ancients ſo religious a care, and ſuch ſacred eſteems of a *buriall*, that ſepulchers were called *templa*, and the rite of a funeral acknowledged to be τὰ νόμιμα by the Greeks, as well as *juſta* by the Latins. Inſomuch that the *Athenians* had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance upon the carcaſe of another, whoſoever it were, he ſhould be bound to caſt earth upon it three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turfe,

—a *Capiti inhumato*
Particulam dare.—

Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 14.

The Romans (it ſeems by *Quintilian. Declam.* 5. obſerved this cuſtome exceeding well, for (ſayes he) *Ignotis cadaveribus humum congerimus, & inſepultum quodlibet corpus nulla feſtinatio tam rapida tranſcurrit, ut non quantulocunq; veneretur aggeſtu.* And if any one omitted the duty, he muſt make ſatisfaction by ſacrificing a Sow-pig *porcam præcidaneam* (as they called it) to *Ceres*. But the Scholiaſt upon *Sophocles* in *Antigone* goes farther: ὁ γοῦν ἰδὼν ἄταφον καὶ μὴ ἐπαμησάμενος χοῦν ἐπέβαλε, ἔνοχος ἦν ἐδόκει. Whoſoever ſaw a dead body, and did not put the duſt upon it, was not onely a breaker of the Law, but ἔναγὴς, a *ſcelus*, an *accurſed devoted fellow, anathema*, (for what ſhould the body do any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὰ ἄταφα, κοινὰ ζώντων, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon * *Euripides*, and πᾶσιν ἐχθροὺς θεοὺς μὴ λάσιους ἔχῃ, very much feared that the Gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to them were above ground. No greater imprecation to an enemy amongſt them, than ἀκήδευτον χθονὸς, that *he might not be covered with the Earth.* Methinks I ſee * *Hector*, upon his knees

* Feſtus c. 14.

* In Helen.

* Homer.

knees to *Achiles* as he was ready to ſtab him; and * *Ajax* in his prayers to *Jupiter* (before he fell upon his ſword) earneſtly beſeeching them not to ſuffer their bodies, when their ſoules were removed to be left behind in the lurch, to be meat *for the dogs and the birds*. Hence ſurely it was, that the ancients ſtood ſo much in fear of a death upon the Sea, or a ſhipwrack, becauſe of the death: for there they could never be interred.

* Sophoc.

Demite naufragium, & mors mihi munus erit.

ſaies *Ovid*. Inſomuch that when they went to Sea, or at leaſt when they feared to be *caſt away*) as we call it, for there if the Soul be gone, we have loſt the body too) their cuſtome was to faſten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him, that ſhould find it, and bury it, if it were caſt a ſhore. Φέρειν δὲ τιμὴν ἑκατόστον τὸν ἐν ναυαγίῳ νεκρὸν, ὁ δ' εὐτυχὼν ἢ χειδίαις νόμις ἀφαιρεῖται αἰδέσιμα, μὴ ἐκ μικροῦ τινὸς μέρους ἀποδύσασθαι τὸ χαίρειν αὖθις πολλαπλάσιον. Sayes *Syneſius* in one of his Epiſtles. Moreover not only if a corps were not buried at all, but if it were not buried as ſoon as poſſibly it could, it was counted μίασμά τι τῶν νεκρῶν, as if they had offended the *manes*: whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it χάρισμά τι τῶν νεκρῶν, that they had done them a pleaſure. You have thoſe two words uſed by the Scholiaſt, upon the ſaying of *Homer. Iliad. 7.*

—ἐπεὶ δάνατόν τυφὸς μιλίσσεται ἔμμεν.

Patroclus is ſaid to have been angry with *Achilles* for ſuch a delay, and how true it is which one ſayes, that the bodies were kept fourteen dayes and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I do not yet find.

Alex. ab Alex. l. 3. c. 7.

CAP. XVII.

De ter vocanda anima, & de Cenotaphiis.

BUT next to the happineſſe of *being buried*, was that of being *buried in their own Country*. Inſomuch that if a Man died ſo farre from home, that they could not come to the

the *body*, they were wont with ſolemn and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, διακλήσαντες τὸν Ψυχὸν.—*manes ter voce vocare* (as I may ſay) *to give a hollow for the Soul*: which they thought was ſtill *quick* enough to come to *them*. [a] *Pindar* ſayes, that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying at *Colchis*, deſir'd *Pelias* to ſee this office perform'd for him,

—κἀκάλεσεν χὰ τάδ'

Ψυχὰν καμόντι φράζειν

And ſo *Ulyſſes*, after he had loſt threeſcore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, preſently made it his buſineſſe (ſayes *Homer*) ..τρὶς ἐβόησεν ἀΐσσων: *to give a whoop for every one three times*. As *Theocritus* ſayes of *Hylas*, τρὶς μὲν Τλαν ἀΰσαι. In *Virgil* he is named but twice.

—*Hylam nauta quo fonte relictum*
Clamaſſent: ut litus Hyla, Hyla, omne ſonaret:

Doubtleſſe they would have been glad, to believe their *bodies* alſo might be rolled under the ground, into their native Country, as ſome of the *Jewes* do think theirs ſhall into the land of *Canaan*. And yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the ſoules themſelves, it could be to little purpoſe. For as I remember, one in *Ariſtophanes's Ranis* ſaies concerning the dead,

Οἰχώκ πρὶς λέγεται ἐξικνέμεθα.

They are gon ſo far, οἴχεται, (οἴχομαι *to go* is uſed alſo for *to dye*, we ſay a man is *dead, and gone*) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But muſt this be all? can there be no way elſe to honour the man, unleſſe you can finger the carcaſſe? yes, he ſhall be kept ſafe in a Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. Such a Monument they called κενοτάφιον: and to bury a man thus in *effigie* (as I may ſay) κενοταφεῖν, as in [*] *Euripides*.

Οὐ τυμβεύεις παῖς ἥδ' ἀπόντα κενοταφεῖ.

The Scholiaſt upon the ſame Poët in *Hecuba*, gives a full teſtimony of the cuſtome, ſaying that, Εἰώθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ ἐπιτάφια τὸ κενοτάφιον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τιθέντες, κἂν ἐν ἄλλῃ τῇ γῇ τυγχάνῃ, χάριν τοῦ ζῆν ἐν μνήμῃ, *though the body were buried in another Country, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury*

a In Pyth. Od. 4.

Ill. 13. Ecl. 6.

Helen. v. 1562.

bury his grave. *Nonnus* calls this *Cenotaphion* Κενόφιον, from νεῖον a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Æneas* made for his Father.—[b] *Tumulum Rhœteo in littore inanem*

[b] Virg. Æn. 6.
[c] Ovid. l. 6. fab. 8.

Constituit— [c] *Progne* for *Philomela.*

—*& inane Sepulchrum*

Constituit— The *Pythagoreans* for those *qui à Philosophia sua descivissent*, (accounting them *as bad as* departed out of the life, that had departed from their *principles*) The *Athenians* for all those that died upon the Sea.

Ὡς ἔ θανόντα σ' ἐνάλιον κεν ᾠ σάρῳ

Θεῦναι— sayes the Poet concerning *Helena's* husband. Tis worth our labour to read the story. what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a suit of clothes in a beer, as if his body were there; and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drown it. If it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed between *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

Theoc. Τί δ' ἐς ὑπὸ τῶν τύμβῳ; ἢ θάλεις ζεσάν;

Hel. Ἕλλησιν ἐστι νόμος, ὃς ἂν πόντῳ θάνῃ,

Theoc. Τί δρᾷ, σορὸν τιν' ἢ πλόπιδιν τὰ τοιάδε.

Hel. Κενοῖσι θάπτειν ἐν πίναξι σῶμα ζῶν.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an *empty* beer, in pomp, and a burial, in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the stateliest manner that might be. For with this provision for his burial, he in * *Aristophanes* comforted himself and his friend ὁ Κυζικηνὸς δέξεται τὰ. what need I say more of this? It was a common thing every where as * *Ovid* sayes. *Et sæpe in tumulis sine corpore nomina legi.*

* In avibus.

* L. 11. fab. 10.

CAP. XVIII.

**De mortui mutilatione, & iis quæ in homicidiis fieri solebant.*

THE customes used in *Athens* upon the dead body were different, according to the different wayes by which he came to his end, *viz.* Violent, and Natural. And first of the

the cuſtomes uſed in a violent death. If the man had kill'd himſelf (αὐτόχειρ) they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the reſt of the body. So ſaies *Cæl. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him ſo. In dying (or falling down) Men and Women, but eſpecially the Women were exceeding careful, that they might not diſcover any thing that was not to be ſeen, but ἐυχημόνως πεσεῖν as *Euripides* ſaies of *Polyxena*. If *another* killed a man, he that killed him, if he thought that he had done it juſtly and in a good cauſe, though he waſhed his hands after it (as they would do after killing any other Creature) yet he uſed to take the ſword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the bloud on it, σύμβολον τῆς δικαίου πεπράχθαι, (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Oreſtes*) to ſhew that he fear'd not if heaven were witneſſe, & all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjuſtly, inſteed of *ſhewing* the bloud, he wip'd it off in the hair of the party ſlain: ὥστε ἀποτρεπαιζόμενος τὸ μῦσος ἐκ πλόκου (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *averruncare*, to abominate, *and wipe away* the *abomination* of the fact. But if it were ἐμφύλιος and συγγενικὸς τόπος (as he ſayes) i.e. *if the party were one of his own Tribe or kinred*: he could never wipe it ſo clean, but ſome would ſtick. And therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they povided amulets and ſpells to keep them off. And what better thing than a part of the body it ſelfe? for having that in their power as a hoſtage, to do what they would with it, the Ghoſt of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or elſe would ſpare the bearer for love of the carriage. And therefore as ſoon as they had ſlain him, they cut off all the *extreme* or *outmoſt parts* of the outmoſt members, and ſewing them, or tying them together wore them under their arme pits. The *extremities* thus uſed they call'd ἀκρωτήρια, and ſo to uſe the body ἀκρωτηριάζειν, as they call'd it likewiſe, if they did but cut the *tops* of the *eares* when a man had committed a fault, ſaies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*, which may more properly be called λοβᾶσθαι, from λοβὸς the lap of the eare. Though that word, and λοβάσιος, be-

Soph. in Elect.

L. 4. be also used for as bad usage as ἀκρωτηριάζειν: unless you will say this was properly said to be done, when they killed the party quite. Those ἀκρώτηρια, are sometimes called ἀποτόμματα or ἐξάρτυματα, as in * *Apollonius*, where he speaks of *Absyrtus* his being thus used by his sister *Medea*.

Ἡρως δ' Αἰσονίδης ἐξάρτυματα τίμια δαιτὸς
Ἡδίμις ὠδίνησι συλήσασα δαιλόαζω.

And sometimes μασχαλίσματα from μασχαλίζειν, the same that ἀκρωτηριάζειν; because oftimes they hung those pieces of the body ἐκ μασχάλης to their armeholes, of which *Sophocles* speaks thus,

Τὸ δ' ἧς δεινὸν ἄπυρ ὥστε λυμεὼς,
Ἐμασχάλιζε.

But if he had kill'd the man by treachery, he hung those pieces about his *neck*, and taking some of the bloud, spit three times in his mouth. This fashion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noses, and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in use likewise among the Romans: not onely upon men *slain*, (as *Quintilian* sayes, *truncus partibus suis umbras*) but when they did not kill them out-right: according to that in *Virgil Æn.* 6.

Atque hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora, manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhonesto vulnere naves.

C. 1. v. 7. That practice of *Adonibezeks*, which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *Acrotériasmus*, as this was.

The usuall punishments to be suffered by him that had kill'd another were these. If he had done it unwillingly, he must fly his own Country and get into another, (as the Israelites were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*) Being there, he must betake himselfe (saith the Scholiast) εἴς τινος οἰκίαν ἀνδρὸς πολίτου, into some great mans house that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not coming as an ἱκέτης, or Petitioner) and there set him covered by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) καθέζεσθαι λόμενον, to expiate the fact, and purge himself of the pollution. If the party were one of his own

Joshua c. 20.
* On Homer. Il. O.
a Schol. in Eurip. Hip.

own Tribe or kinred, he muſt tarry out of his Countrey a whole year at the * leaſt, *a Euſtathius* ſayes antiently they ſuffered them ſometimes to redeem their liberty with a fine of two Talents of Gold. But afterward, it ſeems to have been otherwiſe: Inſomuch that a Murtherer was not onely forbid χρῆσθαι νίμμιν, or ἱερῶν μετέχειν, *to participate in their Sacrifices himſelf*: But every Body elſe (of his own Country was forbid to receive him into his houſe. Nay they might not be allowed to *ſpeak* to him: as thinking him ἀνόσιον κακόν, ἐναγῆ, ſo unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* ſaies ὡς οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων καλῶ. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, out of *Callimachus*, ſaies that among the *Theſſali*, they uſed to drag him about the grave, where the party was buried whom he had ſlain; as *Euridamus* did *Symon* for killing his brother *Thraſymus*.

* Schol. in Eurip Hip. a 11. 18.

II. X.

CAP. XIX.

De claudendis oculis, pulſandis ænis vaſis, & amiciendo corpore.

IT was the Cuſtome among the Greeks, as well as among the Jews and the Romans, when a man was a dying, or his Sun was a ſetting (as they uſed to ſay, —— ἅλιον ἅμμι δύνειν) to have his eyes cloſed by the Parents, or the next of the kinred: and they call'd it Σύγκλειστρα τῆς θύρας. The performing of this ceremony by the *Kinred*, was ſo much valued, that it was bewail'd as a very great unhappineſs, to dye in ſuch a place where a mans friends could not be preſent to do it as *Ulyſſes* ſaies.

Theoc.

II. O.

——ἀ δ' οὐδέ τις πατὴρ ἠδὲ πότνια μήτηρ
Οσσε καταθήσουσι θανόντι——

If a *man* died ſuddainly, ἀνίκητον (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*; if a *Woman* to *Diana*, I know not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, that juſt at the time of death, they had a cuſtome likewiſe to make a great *ringing* with *veſſels*

II.

of *brass*, (*Bells* some render it) to fright away the Hobgoblings, and Furies from the Soul. For such a kind of sound (he saies) is καθαρὸς καὶ ἀπλανὴς τῶν μιασμάτων of a special virtue for such effects. But else I should rather imagine it to have been done for the same end, that a Roman *Conclamation* was, *viz.* to try whether the party were but *dead a sleep* (not *dead and gone*) and so to awake him with the noyse, as they were wont to do to the Moon in an Eclypse, when they thought her asleep. The eyes being cover'd with the lids, the face was next cover'd with a cloath and that by the next of the Kin too: for *Hippolytus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his father to do it.

Eur Hipp. v. 148. Κρύψον δέ μου σὺ πρόσπτυσσε τ' ὄχθῳ πέπλους.

And indeed the whole business of stretching out and shrowding the body, belonged especially to the next of the Kin. And therefore *Cassandra* in *Euripides*, endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better than that of the Greeks that besieged them, saies, That *they*, having the happiness to dye at home among their friends and kindred, were

Χερσὶν φίλαις τε καὶ πρὸς ὧν ἔχρῃν τάφου.

Shrowded by whom they ought, their Kin. If a Father or a Mother died a Widow, the children did it. And so *Medea* tels her Children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to her self.

Eur Med v. 1036. Καὶ κατθανοῦσαν χερσὶν ἂν φίλαις ἐμῆς.

If the Husband died, the Wife did it. Which happiness the Greek Souldiers could not attain, if they dyed at Troy.

Troad. v. 177. ——ἐὰν δ' ἄμαρτῃ τις χερῶν

Πλησθεὶς, συγκαλύψει.

If a brother, the sister. Which made *Orestes* when he was to suffer death among the *Scythians*, a great way off from his home, cry out so pittifully.

Id. Iphig. in Taur. Φεῦ, πῶς ἄν μ' ἀδελφὴ χεὶρ θάψειε λαιψηρὰ δόμοις;

Alack! how shall my Sister shrowd me now?

CAP.

CAP. XX.

De effâ Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.

THE body being dead, began from thence to be *Sacrum*, *ſacred*, thoſe that are dead are called ἱεροὶ by *a Plutarch*, and the graves themſelves ἀγγεῖα by *Lycophron*, as ſoon as the body was in. *Sacred* I ſay, that is not to be injured, far enough from *holy*, inſomuch that if a man had but toucht it, νιπτῆρ δίχα χερνὶβ (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any *holy* thing after, till he had waſhed, πυγμῇ, as a Jew: *Toucht* did I ſay? when *Hippolytus* lay a dying, *Diana* would not ſo much as ſtay and *ſee* him dead, for fear of pollution.

Καὶ χαῖρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὁ θάνατος ἡδὺς ἐξ σοῦ μόλοι,
Οὐδ' ἅψομαι χερσὶν θανασίμοισιν ἐκπιτοῦς.

The ſame may be ſaid of the graves δυσβάατον πάτον, ſaies *Heſiod*, for ἄβατα they were not, but only in this ſenſe, that they were ἀθίκτα, not to be medled with, as ſome would have it to be meant by that of the ſame Poet,

Μηδ' ἐφ' ἀκινήτοισι καθίζειν ——

Inſomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Quæſt.* ſaies that thoſe men, that out of pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pomp, before they dyed, were not fit to bear the name of ἀγνοὶ themſelves, the whole performance of the ceremonies which uſed to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Æſchylus*) συγκομιδὴ, as the *Elation* or carrying forth, was called ἐκκομιδὴ. The ceremonies were theſe. Firſt they took a piece of mony above a half penny (twas dearer there than at *Rome*) and put it into his mouth to *ſpeak* his *fare* to the πορθμεὺς, or Ferriman, *Charon*: the piece of mony was called by the name of Ἀνάκτιον, becauſe it was given τοῖς Ἀνοῦσι which ſignifies the *dead*, from ἀνὸς *dry*, becauſe of their *dry bones*. I remember the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite:

a In vitæ Numæ.

Eur. Hippw. 1437.

—πυρὸν ἢ ἀνθ' ἡμῶν ἢ λίθον] saies that there was a ſtone which the Poet fain'd to be ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς, *in the place of the dead*, call'd by the name of *Anemus* παρὰ τὸ ἄνυδρα τοῦ νεκροὺς εἶναι, *becauſe the bodies of the dead muſt needs be as dry as duſt.*

Together with the money they threw in a morſel of pudding or paſt, or Cheeſe, to give to *Cerberus* to ſtop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. It was uſually made of flower temper'd with honey (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly μελιττοῦτα, and μελιττοῦς μελιττοῦτὰ ἐδίδοτο τοῖς νεκροῖς ὡς εἰς ἐκβρασμόν, ſaies *Suidas*, ſuch a kind of thing *Æneas* is ſaid to have given him, when he viſited the dead

Melle ſaporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit.

Æn. 6. Met. l. 6.

Apuleius ſpeaks of more pieces than one, *offas polentæ melle concretas.* & ſaies, they were to carry a piece in each hand. The Poet in * *Luſiſtrate* us'd it but in the ſingular number,

* Ariſtophan.

— συρὸν οὐτησει
Μελιττοῦτταν ἐγὼ ᾧ δὴ μάζω.

It may be the ſame Poet alluded to this cuſtome in thoſe words of his in *Pace.*

ἔτ' ἀλφιτ' ὄπτ- πυρὸν ὡς ἀποδώσω.

CAP. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo ferali.

IF the party deceaſed were free of the City, the κατοικῶν (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowels and with heated water, which they put into a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpoſe, waſhed the body: as thoſe * did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her *in the upper room.* This Λοῦτρα παρύσεται (as *Electra* call'd it in the poet) was a thing accounted ſo neceſſary, that *Socrates* (as it is in *aPlato*) when he intended to drink his own death in a health, thought it beſt to ſet about it himſelf aforehand, and ſave the Women a labour: Ὡς τεταγμένα πρὸς τὸ λοῦτρον, δοκεῖ χρῆναι ἤδη βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον

* Acts c. 9. v. 37.
Eurip. v. 157. Electra.
aIn Phædone.

λεσάμενον πρέπειν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ πράγματα ἢ γυναικὶ παρέχειν νεκρὸν λέγειν. Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceſtis*, when ſhe intended to die for her Husband. Saies the Poet

b Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦδη τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκύρει
Ἣν ἔμελλεν ὕδασι ποταμίοις λευκὸν χρόα
Ἁλοῦσ'

b Eurip. Alc v. 116.

When ſhe perceiv'd the day appointed near,
She waſh'd her ſelf in river water clear.

In alluſion to this cuſtome * *Iphigenia* in her dream, fell a waſhing one of the pillars of the ruined houſe, when ſhe fancied to ſee. * apud Eurip.

Τὸ δρᾶκον αὐτὸν ὡς δαπάμενον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Son, and concluding the death of that ſon by the waſhing of the Pillar. To this waſhing, (it may be) alludes that expreſſion of *Strepſiades* to his ſon in *Ariſtophanes nubibus*.

Ὥσπερ πεθνεῶτ' ἢ καταλύειν μ' τὸν βίον.

He caſteth aſperſions upon my life, and waſheth me as if I were dead. This work was indeed proper to the Women, but in caſe of neceſſity others might ſerve. And therefore in c *Galen* you ſhall find the *Cynicks* themſelves a waſhing poor *Theagenes*, becauſe he had neither wife, nor child, nor chick of his own to do it. Having waſhed the body, they anointed it with ointments, and poured *Ambroſia* upon his head and face, as *Homer* ſaies, *Jupiter* bid them do to *Sarpedon*,

c de Method. Medendi. l. 13. c. 15.

Χεῖσαν τ' ἀμβρόσιον ——— Il. 11.

Having done this, they wrapt the body in a fine garment, woven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or ſome other friend for the purpoſe: having alſo πεπλεῖα bands or liſts of cloth, to tye the hands and the feet withall, ſuch as * *Lazarus* had *Feralibus amiculis obſtrictus*, ſaies * *Apuleius*. The colour of the Shrowd (if my memory fail not) was white among the Grecians, but black with the Latines. Homer. Odyſſ. I. * John c 11. v. 44 * Metam. l. 10.

CAP. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuis. De coronis, quibus corpora ornabantur, de lecto, & de collocatione.

HAving thus cloath'd him with his Winding sheet, and his πέπλα: next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐστέφανον τοὺς νεκροὺς ὁ ξέραν Θ, ὡς τὸν ζῶν ἀγωνισμένοις, saies *Suidas*, *as they would do to one that had run out his race, or fought it out*: & with the like signification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for the same reason: for cakes were given for rewards, as well as Garlands. In allusion to these Garlands, *Eustathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Son, makes him say, πῶς σε καταστέψω τόν πάϊ δάκρυσιν, *how shall I crown thee with teares?* an example of this practise, you may see in *Euripides*: where *Talthibius* speaks to *Hecuba* to do it to *Astyanax*, in the absence of his Mother, thus.

L. 10. Ilm.

—σὺ νῦν λοισθίοισιν ὡς σὺ τεύξεις νεκρὸν
Σὺ μὲν πρὸς ἦσον σοὶ δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

Eur. Troad. v. 1143.

After they had done this, they set him on the ground, with his *feet* outward toward the *gate*: as being never to put his foot in the house again, Then they took him and put him into a couch or a bed (τὸ λέκτρον) to be in a readinesse to be carried to his bed, for so *Lycophron* calls the grave ἐυναστήριον, as it is likewise termed κοιμητήριον, and so the dead are called εὕδοντες, and κατακεκοιμημένοι, for death is a long sleep, as sleep is a short death. The couch was also adorned with Garlands made of all sorts of Hearbs & Flowers (as * *Euripides* saies) ἅτε χθὼν καλὰ τέρεα βλαστάσασα, but especially of Olive, which they used in victories. Having thus adorned it, they *placed it*, or *set it forth at the doors*, as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was,

Alem l. 3. c. 14

In. Hel.

—κατὰ πρόθυρον πυκαμίνοιο.

This placing of him they called προτιθέναι, *collocare*, *Laying forth* (as we call it) as it is in *Alcestis*.

—ἡ προθοῦσα τὸν νεκρόν.

During the πρόθεσις, and all the time till the ἐκφορὰ (as they call'd

call'd it) till the body was carried forth, *efferebatur*, ἐξεκομίζετο, as S *Luke* ſaith, (whether out of the houſe or the City) there ſtood at the door, a great earthen veſſel filled with water, which they fetcht from another houſe, for the people to waſh in, that came in and out. This veſſel is called by *Heſychius* γάσεα by *Pollux* ἄρδανον, and by *Ariſtophanes* ὄσγανον in that [a] place where he ſpeaks of the λέκυθοι too, that is the Pots for oyntments, wherewith they anointed the body: as likewiſe of ſtrewing of *Origanum* (they ſay it is for good hearts *originum tueri*) and of Vine-branches, for what uſe I know not, unleſſe it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of anointing, or elſe to make the Torches of them: for of ſuch ſtuffe Torches were commonly made as *Euſtathius* ſaies ἀφὸς was ἡ ἐκ χληματίδων λάμπας. And ſo our Poet in *Lyſiſtrate* calls it ἀμπίλου φορὸν: pray take his own words, for the great pot of Water, the leſſer pots of oyntment, and the Vine-branches together.

Ὑποστρῶσαι νυνὶ σφῶϊν τὴν δεῖσαν
Καὶ χλήμαθ' ὑπόθες τὴν λάσανα τὴν ἔρεα
Καὶ πλυνῶσαι, ἡ δ' ὅδ' ἔνθα τὰς λεκύθους
Τλητός τι κατάδεσμον πρὸ τῆς θύρας.

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alceſtis* (*verſe* 99) one makes a doubt whether the woman were indeed buried, as they ſaid ſhe was, becauſe he could not ſee any ſpring water πηγαῖον ὑδρηλὰν (as he calls it, for ſuch it ſhould be) ſtanding at the door as the cuſtome was.

The waſhing it ſelfe was called λοετὸς ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, like the Iſraelites καθαρίζεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, which we read of in *Eccleſiaſticus* cap 34. v. 25. and in *Numbers* c 19. v. 11. The Romans uſed *Suffitionem*, *a perfuming of the houſe*: for they thought the whole houſe polluted, where there lay but a dead body by the wall. And ſo did the Greeks too, as may appear by thoſe words of *Helena*, and the Poet.

[b] Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δῶματ' ἐν δόμοις
Ψυχὴν ἀπώλεσ' Μενέλεως —

Our houſe is clean, for *Menelaus* here
Loſt not his life. —

[a] Eurip.

[b] C. 7. v. 11

[a] in Eccleſ.

[b] Eurip. Hel. vv. 1146.

CAP.

CAP. XXIII.

De ritu efferendi & portandi corporis.

THE best time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day, and not in the night. And this I gather'd by those words in the Poet, wherein *Cassandra* the Fortune teller, threatning *Talthibius*, told him his fortune to be buried in the night, (clean contrary to the judgment of many now a daies, who make it an honour, for the better sort,) saies she

b Κακὸς κακῶς τυφήσῃ νυκτὸς, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

b Id in Troad. v. 448.

Therefore the next day after the *Collocation*, before Sunrising

(ὡς ἠρίνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς.

l. 11.

saies *Homer* (the funeral of *Hector*) *at break of day*, up the Corps is mounted, and carried a long most bravely

ὥστε ἐς πομπὴν κεκοσμημένος (saies * *Lucian*) in pomp, as if it were intended for a *shew*. Now it was carried (saies the Scholiast upon *Homer* οὐκ ἐφ' ἁρμάτων τινὸς, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. but upon mens shoulders up aloof ἀράλῳ, as *Euripides* calls it, speaking of *Alcestis*, where he speaks also of ὑφέρτολοι Servants, (I should have thought the bearers had been some of the kinred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

De Luctu.

ὑφέρτολοι
φέρουν ἀράλῳ πρὸς τάφου τι, καὶ πυρᾷ.

In the like sense he uses the word φερᾴδω in another Tragedy; where speaking of *Rhesus* his being *trung'd* away to be buried by his mother *Terpsichore*, when *Ulysses* had slain him.

Τὶς ὦν καταλὴς ὁ θεὸς, ὦ Σαπλεῦ
Τὸν νεόλουτον ἐν χεροῖν
Φερᾴδῳ πέμπει——

a Eurip. Alc. v. 607.

If the party dyed of a violent death, especially in a fight, they used to carry forth Spears and other arms and armour along with the Corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funeral of *Pallas*

——*Hastam alii, galeamque ferunt*——

And

And it is likely they held those Spears at the wrong end too, as the custome is with us at the burial of a Souldier, and as they did then

—Et versis Arcades armis.

As the Corps was a carrying forth from the Porch, it seems that they used some speech or other, as to the party deceased, either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernal Gods, to whom he went, or to bemoan his departure; for it may well be conjectured by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Pheræ* concerning his Wife.

a Τιμᾶς ἥ πλὼ θανοῦσαν, ὡς νομίζεται,
Πεσσοῖσι πᾶσ' ἐξίσου ὑφ' ἁμάξαν ἰδεῖν.

a Eurip. Alc. 608.

Those that accompanied the Corpse, and were invited to the funerall, sometimes went on foot, (if it were one whom they honoured very much) and sometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick *b* person, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorned with Garlands. In going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walk stately before the Corps, and the *c* Women (but not unlesse they were threescore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a πίναξ about her, whatsoever that was.

b Diog. Laert. L. 10.

c Demost. ad Macart.

CAP. XXIV.

De Ministerio Funerarum & Siticinum.

TO set forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jews had מקוננות and the Romans *Præficas*: so *they* also had their singing Women of purpose to lead the dance, θοίνης, or σπονδῆς ἔξαρχοι, as * Homer calls them; or πανδαισίας as *Nonnus*. And since vocal Musick might be allowed, I marvel very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife should be so strict against any instrumental, either with the Harp or the Pipe.

a See Jeremie 9. v. 17.

* Il. Ω.

Αὐλῶν ἥ μὲ κατ' ἄκυ, μὲ λύρας κτύπος
Ἔστω —

Eurip. Alc. v. 430.

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of all harmony according to that of *Macrobius*: *Mortuos quoq; ad sepulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum institutâ sanxerunt persuasione hac, quia post corpus anima ad originem dulcedinis musicæ, id est, ad cœlum redire creditur.* Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing σὺν λύρᾳ, in such times of mourning, because it was an instrument consecrated to the service of *Apollo*: for *Paan's*, and such merry songs (as the reason is given by the Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phœnissæ*, ἄλυρον ἡ μοῦσαν.) But for the *Pipe*, I never knew but that they might sing σὺν αὐλοῖς: for else why were there πομπαῖοι αὐληταὶ *Pipers* among them? as there were *Sitticines* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funeral, brought along with them τι κόσμου, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands, or to put upon the corpse; such as *Admetus* in *a Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before.

a In Alc. v. 630.

Κόσμου γ' τῶν σὺν πόδ' ἃ δ' ἐμοὶ δόμοις πάρα

I have some cause to think that some of those κόσμοι which they carried, were the *Images* and the *Arms* of the family of the party deceased (for such they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the Funeral. And if so, then those τροπαίων ἀγάλματα * (neer the place above quoted) said to be carried by those which followed the corps may be translated *imagines*, as well as *grata munera*. Or if it must needs be *grata munera*, it must be meant to the *gods* of the dead, and not the *dead* themselves.

* ib. v. 612.

But yet after all this, you do well to take notice, of a great deal of difference in the Pomp, according to the age of the party deceased: for such as had more age had more honour than others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alcestis*) of a great deal more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger sort, he replyed, by no means; for

Κἂν γεραιᾶς, ὅλλῃ πλουσίας ταφῆς.

If old she die, she will be richly buried.

And

And here, becauſe I have ſuch an occaſion given me, before I go any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more than I thought to have done, concerning the cuſtoms uſed in mourning at Funerals, or any other time and firſt, of the cutting of the hair.

CAP. XXV.

De Capillis tondendis in Luctu.

THE Grecians, upon any extraordinary occaſion of ſorrow and *baldneſs* (as the *Hebrews* ſay) uſed to cut their hair εἰς χόην (as they call'd it) or to ſhave it cloſe to the skin. For ſo much may be gathered by thoſe words of *Lyſias* (cited by *Ariſtotle* in his * Rhetoricks) which he had in his ſpeech for the Corinthians, that died in the fight with the Perſians at Salamis, ſaies he, ἄξιον ἦν ὅτι τοῖς τότε τελευτήσασιν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πάντων κείρασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. *It had been no leſs than diſert, if all Greece had been ſhaved at the burial of thoſe gallant ſouldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis.* If this ſuffice not, you may take the teſtimony of *Euripides*, who would have the whole Country of the *Cyclopians* to do the like.

—ἰαχεῖτο Κυκλωπίᾶς
Σίδαρος ὀπὶ κρᾶτα πᾶσιν κύειμον

And he himſelf when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourned for after this manner, by no worſe man than *Archelaus* the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this cuſtome, *Strabo* ſpeaks of a Town in *Cappadocia* called *Comona*, from the *mourning hair*, cut in that place by *Oreſtes* and *Iphigenia*. So you ſhall meet with the like practice of *Tellus* in the behalf of *Phaeton*: and of *Bacchus* the God (as *intonſus* as he was) for the loſs of his wife. Nay you ſhall find *Job* himſelf at this very work upon the news of his Childrens death. And in the Prophecy of *Jeremy* you may read *Cut off thy hair, and caſt it away, and take up a lamentation.* Tis true, they were to be blamed for theſe follies, and in *b Cicero* you ſhall meet with a ſaying of *Bion* himſelf, deriding the uſe of this cuſtome

* L. 3. c. 10.

a C. 7. v. 29.

b Tuſc. Q. l. 3.

ſtome in *Agamemnon*: *Perinde ſtultiſſimum Regem in luctu capillũ ſibi evellere, quaſi calvitio maror levaretur*, as if he aggravated the former loſs of his friends, with another of his hair. What if it be objected to all this, (which we confeſs to be true too) that it was a cuſtome to cut the hair in token of joy? For firſt among the Jews, if you look into the Bible, you ſhall find *Joſeph* cutting his hair, when he came out of priſon; and *Jonathans* Son, when he met with *David*, for joy doing the like. Nay that action of *Job* it ſelf, is by *Origen* (the *Allegorical* Interpreter) thought to have been an expreſſion not of ſorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerful patience under his affliction. 2ly. Among the Romans, you know their *ſqualliđ priſoners* let their hair hang down long, that they might look the more *dejected*, and ſo move the judges to pitty when they came to be tried.

a *Aſpice demiſſos lugentis more capillos.*

Ovid. in Epiſt. Whereas after their abſolution or releaſement, they preſently cut it: And therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epiſtles interprets his dream of the cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from ſome eminent danger. And laſt of all for your Greeks themſelves, that they let their hair grow long in times of ſadneſs, may appear by that of *Lycophron*.

Κρατὸς δ' ἀκερσ- νατα κἠμυνεῖ φόβῳ
Μνήμῃσι παλαιῶν τημελῆς' ὀδυρμάτων.

And that they *cut it* in times of *joy*, will be out of queſtion, if we believe *Artemidorus*, who ſaies that ὅτι γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶσθαι ἡ τὸ χαρῆναι, *the word for rejoycing comes from the word which they uſe for cutting the hair.* To reconcile theſe things perhaps it may ſuffice to ſay, That cutting their hair ſhorter by way of a κῆρος, or a *trimming* (as we call it) was a token of joy; but ſhaving it cloſe, even to *baldneſs*, of ſorrow and dejection; as among the Jews, *weeping, and mourning, and baldneſs* were joyned together. I know there are ſome, that think to reconcile all, by ſaying as *Plutarch* ſaies (in *Romaicis*) ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις ἐν ταῖς δυσχολίαις γίνῃ, καὶ ἐστι ταῖς μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες, κομῶσι δ' οἱ ἀνδρες, that *the women expreſſed their ſorrow by cutting their hair*, and *the men by letting it grow*. Which may be likely enough, becauſe

Iſai. c. 22. v. 12.

cause in sorrow, people out of a dejected carelesness, love to appear as unhandsome as may be, and contrary to the usual fashion: now it was accounted a handsome thing, (and so it was the custome too) among the Greeks, for women to wear their hair long, and the men to wear it short. But how is it then that in *b Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long hair?

b In Heaut. act. 2. sc. 3.

Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput
Rejectus negligenter.

CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

WHen any disaster befell such as were neer of kin unto them, ἐνιαυτὸν, &c. it being a time for sadness, they forbare to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men *glad*) and confined themselves to that which the Scholiast calls ἄλφιτον κριθῶνα, a *Barly mash*, (Ale it's like) But sorrow must be more than negative: and therefore, First, they used to tear their cloths and their hair, after the manner of the Hebrews, and sometimes to fling their Vailes in the fire, (not in healths, but in sobs and sighs) as it is in *Rhesus*.

Eurip.

Καὶ συμπρῶσαι μυελὸν πολὺν χλιδῆ.

2. To throw their faces in the dust; or the dust in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

Ovid. Met. l. 3. fab. 9.

Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultumq; senile
Fœdat humi fusos—

Or sometimes ashes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourned for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sons at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

Eurip. Supp. v. 816.

—σποδὸν δ' ἀνὰ κόμαις—
Κἀπαγκάραιρε—

3. Κόπτεσθαι (which is used for πεύκειν) to beat their breast and thighs, and cut and tear the flesh like a Jew: as one saies

Smyrnæus. *c.* In Hel.

Making ſtreaks and *furrows* with their nailes in their face (as *Euripides* uſes the word ἀνακάιζεσθαι.

ὄνυξιν πυλαχίσμασ'.)

[b] in Avib.

4 To drain, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection ἴ, ἰ, ἴ, ἰ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon [b] *Ariſtophanes*) comes the word ἴαλεμος to be uſed for a ſong of lamentation viz. ἐπὶ τῶν θρήνων.

But at a Funeral, ſo immoderate were they (eſpecially the Women) in theſe and the like expreſſions of ſorrow, that *Solon* was fain to make this Law of purpoſe to reſtrain them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve lessum funeris ergò habento*, let no Women, &c. Their cuſtoms they uſed at ſuch times were theſe. Firſt, when they came forth of the houſe (and not onely at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his hair, and it is noted by the [a] *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practiſe, where he ſhews how it could hardly be believed, that *Alceſtis* was indeed buried, as they ſayd ſhe was, becauſe neither the pot of Holy water, nor ſo much as a lock of hair could be ſeen at the door, as they were wont to be.

Cicero de Legib.

[a] Eurip. Alc. v. 100.

Καὶ πρὶν τέκνα δῶ πένθιμα κόμαι —

Θ. ἐ δὲ νεκύων πίτνασι πτυγαί

2. As they went along with the corps, they keep their head cloſe covered, and their faces, as other people do. And therefore *Oreſtes*, when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, ſaies he

See Eſther c. 6. v. 12. and Jer. c. 14. v. 3.

—ἀναμὸν ὑπ' ὀ κασίγνητον κόμας

Ἐν δαχρύων τ' ἀσπίλω'—

Be uncover'd, &c.

In the like manner *Theſeus* (as it is in another [b] Tragedy of the ſame Poet) when *Adraſtus* came to petition his help κατῆρε χλαμυδίοις, all bemuſled and covered in the habit of a Mourner, ſaid to him

[b] In Suppl. v. 100.

Λέγ' ἐκτελύψαι κρᾶτα καὶ πώγει γένυ.

They uſed likewiſe to lay their hands on their heads (as we do our heads upon our hands) So [c] *Helen* ſaies of the Trojans

[c] Id. Hel. v. 376.

Ἐπ' ὄμμα κρατὶ χέρας ἔθεντο.

3. Their manner of *going*, was to tread as ſoftly as they could with their feet, and make no noiſe with their tongues (I mean the

the rest of the company, and not those which they got for the purpose to weep)

Σίγα, σίγα λεπτὸν ἴχνος ἀρβύλης
Τίθητι, μὴ κτυπεῖτε, μόλις ἕρπε κώμος.

Saies the *Chorus*. In the book of [a]Kings, 'tis said that *Ahab* lay in Sackcloth אט and *went softly*, and so [b]*Isaiah* saies, אדרכה *I shall go softly all my yeares in the bitterness of my soul* though I know some Translations render it otherwise.

[a] l. 1. c. 21. v. 27
[b] c. 38. v. 15.

4. When they come to the place of burial (for I mean to end the Mourning first, and then to come to the rest) they would cut off all the best locks of their hair (πλόκαμος or βόστρυχος) and lay them on the grave, or cast them into the fire. And this they called πένθιμον κόμην and συνοικίδια τριχός (as it is in *Aristophanes*) or λουτρὰ βόστρυχος (as in *Æschylus*.) or τὰ ξύμπαντα χλιδῶντα (as in *Sophocles*) or ἀπαρχὰς τῶν πλοκάμων as it is every where.) All their *best locks* I said, for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles* was very angry with *Helen* for dealing πανούργως *deceitfully*, and hiding the best of her hair to save it at the burial of *Clytemnestra*, for indeed ἔδει πᾶν κατ' ἀλήθειαν ξυρᾶσθαι πάντα καὶ πλόκαμον τιμῆεν, *they should cut it all*, saith the Scholiast upon that Poet: who in another place has given a reason or two for the action, *viz.* First to make them seem squallid, careless, and contemptible; whereas locks Ἀβρότητα καὶ πολλωπισμὸν ἐμφαίνει, are *used for ornament, and spruceness*, as being τρυφὴ τριχῶν (as I may say) the *Luxury of the hair*. Then, 'tis known that the Greeks were κομήτης, and used to wear their hair long ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τρέφειν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον, saies the Scholiast, both to *please their friends and to fright their enemies*. Nay, they took such a *pride* in having it so, (calling themselves Ἀκαρανῆς, and such as cut it too short κειρομάχας (that κομᾶν, signifying to wear hair long, has been used to signifie to be *proud*.

c Ill. 8.

2ly ἵνα διὰ ταύτης τέρψεως ἵλεως αὐτοῖς ὁ τιμώμενος, *to get the good will of the deceased party, and the Manes*. Some again say it was done by none but a Parent, or a Foster-father, or Mother by the way of thanks for their education, and so they call'd it θρεπτήρια τιμὴν, ἀντιπαθῆ τοῖς τροφεῦσι. But why

d Ill. 4.

then

c Paus. an. then thus did *Hercules* do it to *Sostratus*, he who was but his *Ganimede*. Last of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the ſpace of eleven daies) the Women were not to wear any [a] Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle-light (which two at firſt were but one thing, *viz.* Wood for heat and light too.) λύχνα ἅπαξ ἐκαίοντο δόμοις, ſaith an old Gloſſe, and to this cuſtome ſome do refer that in the Satyriſt.

a Lycophr.

Vid. Suid. in ἐρυκτὸς & Heſych. in λαλὸς.

Pullati proceres, &c.
——tunc adimus ignem.

Juven Sat. 3.

If the mourning were for a publick calamity, all the *Palæſtræ*, and *gymnaſia*, muſt be ſhut up, together with the Baths and the Shops, and the temples themſelves. But it is time to return to the Corps, and ſee it buried as ſoon as I can, for fear of giving offence (as I told you before.)

CAP. XXVII.

De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco ſepulturæ.

THE ordinary way by wch the corps was carried was the gate called Ἡσιόδου, ſo called becauſe they led to the ἡσία, the *Graves*, or the *Common place of burial*. This gate is ſometimes called ἱερὰ πύλη, *ſacra porta*, whether in oppoſition to the πύλαι ἀποφράδες (in *Plutarch*) or the καταράτου πύλη (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture phraſe, or *Scelerata porta* as the Romans do) by which they dragged the Malefactors, I am yet to ſeek: for Malefactors were to ſuffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. It ſeems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike unclean, and ſo took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

b Theoph. π. Ἀναίδ. & Pollux.

a Kings & Princes are ſo called in Scrip. as in Iſaiah 41.15. &c.

The place of burial in ancient times for a King, or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, (to ſhew that he might not be a *Mountain* [a] for ever) according to that in *Lycophron*.

Τειρὸς

Τελευτὰς ἢ ταφὰς τὰς Κεραμεικὰς λέγει.

Or that of *a Virgil.*

—fuit ingens Monte ſub alto a Æn. 11.
Regis Derceni terreno ex aggere buſtum.

* *Aurelius* ſaies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *ſepultus circa radices Montis, cui ex ſuo nomen dedit*, unleſs you will ſay that thoſe *Montes* were nothing but *that* in a larger ſieze, which *tumuli* were in the *diminutive*: and ſo the hills muſt be made by the burier, as * *Lucan* ſaies Lib. de Orig. Gent. Rom.

Et Regum cineres extructo monte quieſcant. L. 8.

But for men of a lower rank, till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it went no higher than a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis*

—ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
Βῆς πολυκωκύτους εἰς αἴδαο δόμους.

'Tis true, that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may ſay) appointed for the purpoſe, called by the name of οἱ Κεραμεικοὶ, *Potters fields*, ὁ ἐντὸς καὶ ὁ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, one within the Walls, and the other without. *Ariſtophanes* in his *Ranæ*, calls them τὰς ταφὰς, the *Burials* or the *Buryes*. That burial place within (otherwiſe called Δημόσιον σῆμα by *Thucydides*) was for thoſe that made an honourable end in the Field for the good of the *Commonwealth*: the manner whereof I ſhall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral fields, and encloſures. And therefore we ſhall read that ſometimes cloſe to the Gates, ſometimes by the way ſides, according to that of *Hector* in * *Euripides*. In Rheſ. v. 880.

—πεμφὺς
Θάπτειν καλδίειν λαιόφρις πρὸς εὐώπις,

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOw for the uſage of the bodies: when they came to the place of burial, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, τὸ φαλαὸν τὰ σώματα τῶν τηνικάδε τῶν ὁπλιτῶν πρότερον ἐκαίετο διὰ τὸ ἀπίστημα γίνεσθαι, Il. A.

ἔτι, εἰδ' ἔτυπτε δ' ἀπῆν· ὡσὶ γὰρ, the custome was at first to burn them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam.* 10. *Animam, quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi se igni lustraverit petere sedes inter astra.* And the reason was, saies that Scholiast, *because by this means the body might presently consume all away to nothing.* But that custome (I know not for what reason) was not so well liked by other people, insomuch that the *Magi*, among the* *Persians*, thought it ἀνόσιον *a thing most prophane* (I feare me more for the *Fire* than any thing else) and therefore at length it came to be lesse used, so as sometimes they would burn them, and sometimes onely cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no necessity that τύμβος a *Grave*, should come from τύπτω, τυπτῶ κάω, *to burn*, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* would have it. But for ought I can find even in after times, among the Greeks, burial by burning, was still esteemed the more honourable and stately way of the two; as may appear by their unwillingnesse to have it common; for they denied the use of it, First to Infants. 2. To such as kill'd themselves. 3. To such as were killed with Lightning or *Fulguribus, struck with the Planet* (as we say) who were to be buried there where they died, or at least in some peculiar place apart, as we do those that Hang themselves, or the like. And thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* stoned to death, as he was scaling the walls (a thing invented by him as some report) because they imagined him to have been shot to death by *Jupiter*, must needs be buried χωρὶς *seorsum*, so *Adrastus* saies in *Euripides*

Η χωρὶς ἱερὸν, ὡς τέκτον' ἀλλ' ἀτὰς θέλεις.

And lastly to Traytors: on whom they were loath to bestow any Burial at all. Insomuch that *Themistocles* having been dead long before in *Magnesia*, the Athenians in time of a pestilence, though they had expresse command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to *Athens*, could by no means be permitted by the Magistrates to do it, in regard he had dealt with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Country, and therefore having obtained fifty daies time to celebrate his Funeral, as the fashion was (as I may say) *in his picture*, having

Dieg. Laert. l. 10.

having erected a Tent, closely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Original of this Law the Scholiast upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the siege of *Troy*, threatned whomsoever he found leaving his place treacherously in the fight, to kill him himself, adding withall.

——ἐν γυτὸς γε
Γνωτόν τε γνωτόν τε πυρὸς λελάχοιεν θανόντα.

Upon which words you have this Scholy. Ἐπὶ τοῦτο νόμος ἐγένετο μὴ διαπέσθαι, ὥσπερ ἦν νομοθετέντων ἑαυτῶν. *Hence came the Law*, &c. But I must tell you after all this, that however *burning* & *burying* are so neer in their sounds they have been far enough distant in their being; at least in some Countries. For at *Rome* it was not used in *Macrobius* his time. Among the *Greeks* indeed it may be rather thought to have been discontinued onely upon dislike, than not to have been begun when it was not used. For one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they esteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead body, which it was to purifie, is reported by a Scholiast upon *Homer*, to have cryed aloud to *Prometheus* with these words, Ἔ φάρμακον, βοήθησον, χαλεπὸν εἰ δυνατὸν ἐς πάλιν τὸ πῦρ; *O pray carry the fire back again where you had it.* The first that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*; Who desiring of *Licymnius* to send his son *Argius* to help him in the war with *Laomedon* for the horses, engaged himself by an oath, to see him home safe to his Father again; but the Son being killed in the War, he took him and burnt him, and carried his bones to his father, συρίζων ὦ Θεὸς τὸν, *putting a fallacy upon him*, as if he had his son indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare bones. And yet he used him better than *Cynirus* K. of *Cyprus* did *Menelaus*, who, having promised him fifty ships with men, sent him one true ship, and poped him along with ships and men made of clay for the rest. The story is likely enough, but he that told me said he did not believe it, and therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reason or two of the use of the custome, either because πᾶν * χ. Hom. Il. A.

νεκρὸν ἢ καθαρὸν, *every dead thing is impure*, and so it had need to be purified: and the rather by fire, because it was commonly used to such a purpose as being ἁγνιστικὸν, able to make that pure and chast, which before was adulterated with *Heterogeneous* abasements and alloys: whence *Euripides* saies of *Clytemnestras* body πυρὶ καθήγνισαι. Or else to shew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carried in the fire, as in a Coach to be joyned in society with the gods above, τὸ μὲ θεῖον τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναχωρῆσαν ὅσῳ τὸ ῥᾴιστα τῷ πυρὶ (how neer this goes to expresse the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) ζευχθῆναι τοῖς θεοῖς. Which Princes had no need of, if they could be carried upon *Eagles wings*: as I shall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is said ἀναχαθῆναι, *to be made again* by the fire, and so to become καλὸς ἀθάνατος: as he calls it. Thus the naked Sophisters of *India* πυρὸκαυστοι) used to burn themselves into that immortality, which they desired of *Alexander*, when he put them to ask what they would.

Ib. χ. * Cic. Tusc. Q. L. 5.

CAP. XXIX.

De ritu Cremandi, sive comburendi corpora. De locu'is & reliquiis.

THE manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood; and having laid the corps on the top, to set it on fire, according to that of *Homer*, where he speaks of *Hector*.

Il. ω. Ἐν δὲ πυρὴ ὦκα πᾶσιν ἐΐσατο, ἐν δ' ἐκάλεσσε πῦρ.

The wood was not alwaies of one sort. But sometimes Oak as in * *Euripides*, where you shall read of κορμοὶ δρυὸς, *Oaken billets*, at the funeral of *Hercules* his children. Sometimes Olive, as in *a Sophocles*. And sometimes Pine, as in *Athenæus*: unlesse shall I say, that he confined the use of it to the burial of Virgins. If the party had lost his life in shipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship,

Herc. Fur. v. 241. *a* In Trath. *b* L. 15.

—*ut corpus sepeliret naufragus ignis,*

Et

Et collecta Rogum facerent fragmenta carinæ. Manili. l. 4.

Thus to burn the bodies they called it πυρὰν τὰ σώματα, and the *Bone-fire* it self πυρὰν.

All the while it was burning, the mourners ſtood round about the Bone-fire, and prayed to the Winds to blow, (ſo *Achilles* in *Homer* is ſaid to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burn the better. Not to put the carcaſs (ſurely) but themſelves out of the pain. If there happened to be a very ſtrong wind juſt at the time, they embraced it as an excellent good omen. Still there was Κήρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that ſhould offer to meddle with the bones. *Oſſa ne legito*, ſaies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine. And after that τὴν πυρὰν σὺν τοῖς ὀστέοις ἐχάννυον, * they ſwept up the aſhes together in a heap. The bones they took and waſhed them in water brought in χύτραις, pots for the purpoſe, by the ἰαχυτείστριαι, (women appointed for that work, and for bringing Milk, and ſuch other things as they uſed in the χοαὶ) and having anointed them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrapped them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they called σῆκος or πίλον, or σορὸν. Il. λ. Etym. Mag.

Ὡς ἦ καὶ ὅτε νῶιν ὁμῆ σορὸς ἐμπερικάλυπτοι. a Il.

The veſſel, whatſoever it was, is in *Lycophron*, called κρουνὸς, as if it were a Pot: and in *Moſchus* χρυσῆν κρουνὸν, as if it were wont to be *gilded* and in * *Plutarch* λίθινον σορὸν, as if it were wont to be ſtone, methinks it may be called a coffin, for I read it was uſually made of Wood, viz. of *Cedar*, which is longeſt a rotting, and is therefore called ξύλον ζωὴ, *the life of the dead.* Indeed whether it were ordinary to have ſuch Coffins, or only for thoſe that had *Sepulchra*, and Vaults of purpoſe under ground to ſet them in, I cannot well tell. But that there was ſuch a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the word Κιβὼς, uſed ſometimes for the cheſt it ſelf does ſeem to declare in thoſe words of *Admetus* deſiring to lye with his Wife in the *Grave-bed* too. Ley'. 4. In Numa. Euid. Alc. v. 365.

Ἐν ταῖσιν αὐτῆς χἠμ' ἐπισκύψω κέδρεσι

Σοῦ

Σοὶ τὰς ἡ θεῖται πλόκες —

A wish not unreasonable, seeing the thing desired was so usual both among the Greeks and the Romans too. St. *Austins* own Mother was of the same mind: for why?

Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab 2.

Quos certus amor, quos hora novissima junxit
Componi tumulo non invideatis eodem.

The *Athenians* indeed seldome put above one mans bones in the same coffin: but the *Megarenses* many times four, saies *Pausanias*. The bones which they kept, because they were that which the fire *left*, were called λείψανα or *Reliques*. And they were thus kept saith the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Oreste*, μή ποτε οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c. least they should be exposed to the rage of *too deadly* enemies. If the party were burnt in a forraign Country, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the Coffin, and pompously shewed and adorned with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of *Ovid*.

Ossa tamen facito parvâ referantur in urnâ,
Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.

Velus Glos. When they came where there were crosse waies, those that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia* feasts, διὰ τὸ ἀγυιαῖαν ἑορτὰν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ μάλιστα μεγοντὸν τοῖς τυμβοις. After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times (twas a number very superstitiously used by all nations) to make his appearance,

Virgil. —*Magna manes ter voce vocavi.* (But of this already.) Now the place where the Coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the rest of the family, only such as proved a unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of ἀνίαρος.

* Diog. La. * Harpocr.

CAP. XXX.

De Tumulis.

THe customes used in a *cold* burial were these; (and some of them used at a burning too: as the Sacrifice, the speeches, and the plaies.) The peculiar place of burial was usually

uſually choſen before they died, & markt with a black ſtone, And when they came to be buried, a heap of earth thrown upon the body, περὶ δὲ δὴν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλέϊ πάτυ, &c. ſaies *Ulyſſes* (in *Hecuba Euripidis*,) agreeable whereto, is that phraſe of the ſame Poet in another place μητ' ἐξ ὄχθων πάρος & the Latine word *Tumulus* a *heap* or a *grave*. But (I think) for the better ſort, they made it higher, and a little handſomer, with ſtones, ſomewhat after the faſhion of our Tombs. For ſo *Theſeus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* ſhould honour his Corps ——λαΐνοισί τ' ἐξογκώμασι. Whether earth or ſtones, it ſeems they deſired to have it poliſhed, as neat as might be, faſt and ſmooth.

a Τύμβον καπύφει ξεστὸν ſaies the ſame Poët in *Alceſtis*, and in *Helena*—b ὀθνεῖον ξεστῷ πάγῳ The poſture which the body uſually had in the grave, was with the face towards the Eaſt ſaies *Diogenes Laert. in Democrito*; towards the Weſt, ſaies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the ſtone which I mentioned was written the name and the condition of the party deceaſed, which they deſcribed commonly in verſe. *Plato* was for juſt four Heroick verſes and no more. Such Epitaphs they called γνωρίσματα, becauſe they made *known* the party: as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memorias*, becauſe they made them *remembred*. And therefore the *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, (ſaies *Juſtin*) uſed to tye a *ticket* or a *note*, about their wriſts, to certifie of what condition they were; that in caſe they ſhould dye in the fields, they might have a Burial and a Monument according to their quality. Having thrown the earth upon him, the next work was to ſacrifice, & pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sit tibi terra levis.* Such a prayer as the Chorus in *Euripides* uſed for *Alceſtis*.

—χθὼν ἐπάναντα σοὶ
Χθὸν ἐπάναντα θοῦσ', γύναι.

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a wicked c fellow, or a d Coward, ſo they thought it too little to be denyed to another; and this made *Menelaus* to fear ſo little to dye, for ſaies he

e Εἰ χθὶ τύχοι οἱ ἀγαθοὶ σοφοί,
Εὐ ψυχεῖν

a Ibid. v. 836.
b Ibid. v. 992.
c V. 452.
d Καλοὶ.
e Eurip. Hec. v. 897.

Εὐψυχεῖ ἄνδρα πολεμίων θανόντ' ὑπὸ
Κύρῃ καταμωίσχειν ἐς τύμβον χθονί.
Κακὸς δ' ὑφ' ἑρμα στερεὸν ἐκβάλλειν γᾶ.

CAP. XXXI.

De Infernis.

THE manner of Sacrificing to the Infernal Gods, or the Gods of the dead (for *infernum* or ἀΐδης or ἄδης is a place for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar (Ἐσχάρεων) (perchance to get the nearer to them) according to that practice in *Ovid.*

Met. l. 7. *Haud procul egestâ scrobibus tellure duabus.*
Odyss. 11. *Sacra facit.*

a Æn. 6. The Victime then slain, was either a barren Cow, as[a] *Homer* sayes —στεῖρα βῶν, ἥτις ἀρίστη: And *Virgil*, —*Sterilemque tibi Proserpina vaccam.*

Or else a black sheep, such as the old fellow saw slain at the grave of *Agamemnon.*

b Eurip. Electr. v. 513. bΠυρᾷς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὄϊν μελάγχιμον σφάζει σὸς ἀστὸς—

c In Oedip. v. 556. And such as *Seneca* speaks of[a] *Nigro bibentes vellere, &c.* The reason why they made choyce of this colour, was either because it suited best with *mourning*; or because it was to the *black gods* of the *dark*: For as *Arnobius* sayes, *Diis lævis sedes habitantibus inferas color furvus est gratior.* Afterwards it rose to an Ox, till it was forbidden by *Solon.* Whether it were Sheep or Bullock, or Hog: as it was best, if it were a splaid or a barren female: so it might not be Ram nor Bull, nor Boar, &c. τὰ μὴ γεννῶντα ζῶα, or ὅσα τι ἐστείρωται, καὶ ὅσα μὴ ἦσαν ἔνορχα, sayes the Scholiast; and that for the same reason (as he saith) for which at the same time they offered down both their haire, and the Bristle haire of the Beast, which grew upon his fore-head, Ἀπαρχας, viz. ὡς ψυχῆς τὸ θνητὸν ἀποτέμνοντες, that they might not give the *dead*, either that which had life in it selfe, or that which could beget it in another

Plut. in Sol.

L. 7.

Hom. Il. ψ.

another thing. Thoſe *ſetæ*, or briſtle haires, are in a peculiar manner termed ἐπαρχὰ, and the offering thereof, ἀπαρχᾶσθαι, as in theſe words.

——ἐπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τείχεας ἐς πυρὶ δαλὸν
Ἀρχόμενος δ' ὔτο. Il. ξ.

Thus rendred in the words of *Virgil*,

Et ſummas carpens media inter cornua Setas
Ignibus impoſuit—

Yea not only the beaſt which they *ſlew*; but all the reſt which they ſuffered to live, in the time of a publique funerall, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As appears by the practice of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horſes and Bullocks, and all at the funeral of *Maſiſtius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funeral of *Hephaſtion* dealt with the Horſes and the Mules, and the walls themſelves of the town of *Ecbatane* κειραίεις (as *Ælian* has it) *ſhaving* them ἐς χῶ cloſe to the *ground*. And, I remember, in *a Euripides*, *Admetus* deſiring to celebrate his Wifes funeral in the beſt manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horſes maines to be all cut. *a* Id Alceſt. v. 439.

——χὠ μονάμπυκας
Πώλους σιδήρῳ τἰμιεῖ' ἀυχένων φόβας.

Then beſides the victime they had πὰς χοὰς *Libationes*, which was uſually μελίκρητον, hony, and milk, and wine, to which they added Cakes, if the tranſlator render it aright.

—ἐμπώμασι ὀρθοῖς πας. In *b Euripides*, the manner of uſing their liquors, was firſt to go round about the grave, & powre out ſome, as they went, out of the bottle (as he *c* ſayes λύσας ἀγγεῖον) and then to ſtand on the top, and do it there too, as *Sophocles* ſayes καλπίδας ἐξ ἄκρας, &c. As they offered they uſed certain ſpeeches to the party deceaſed, ſuch as that was *b* Hel. v. 554. *c* Id. in Elect. v. 530.

Ἐλαίαν σ' ἀλλοῖ τ' ἐν δωτεῖν χοαῖς

Together with prayers to the gods, & the ghoſts of the dead to be propitious to them. And therefore thoſe χοαὶ, were uſually termed ἱλαστήριοι, and θελκτήριοι, and καλητήριοι χοαὶ: and they made choice of the moſt proper liquors, to ſweeten and ſupple them. Such a prayer is that in *Euripides* to the

ghoſt of *Achilles*, Ω παῖ Πηλέως, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοῦ μοι καὶ μακαριστὸς ἐκ παλαιοῦ γέγονε, &c.

Thoſe Sacrificing offices were eſpecially to be performed by the Kinred too (as moſt of the reſt were) and therefore *Caſſandra* ſetting forth the ſad condition of the Leagures at *Troy*, and their friends at home, ſayes ſhe, *Their Parents being thus bereſt of their children in the Siege.*

——οὐδὲ τεῖς πόρας
Ἐφ' ἕρκος αὐτῶν αἷμα χῶ θηρήσεται,
—no body have
To let a victime blood upon their grave.

CAP. XXXII.

De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phyllobolia.

BEſides all this, there muſt be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the hearſe and the corps: And this action they called στεφανοῦν ἢ πάμφυλα and the Garlands themſelves ἄνθη and that more properly than any of the former, as being not only ἠθροισμένα, made of a *Collation* or a *Collection* of all ſorts of flowers gathered together, but alſo made to be thrown ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, upon the *Earth*. Sometimes indeed they made thoſe Garlands of nothing but the flower σέλινον, (ſaith *a Athenæus*) and then the Garlands were called πόθοι too. And it may be ſometimes of σέλινον or *Apium* as I have occaſion to think from that ſtory of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance Mules laden with this *Apium*. The Souldiers being affrighted therewith, becauſe of the uſe which they knew to be made of that herb in funerals (whence the proverb of one that is deſperately ſick σέλινα θέλειν, *that he needs Apium*) refus'd to fight: but he told them, *Nay rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is uſe of the herb, when a man has won the beſt at fight, as well as when death hath given him the worſt.* The firſt beginning of this cuſtome, is by *Philoſtratus* (*in Heroicis*) attributed.

a Li. 14. & 5.

tributed to the *Theſſali*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reaſon of it, ſaies *b Clemens*, was to expreſſe the quiet *condition* of the dead, and their freedome from care and trouble, ἀνοχλήτου ἀμεριμνίας ὁ τέθνηκεν σύμβολον. But I rather think with the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it ὡς τὸ τιμᾶν ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῆς παλαίστρας, to honour the dead as they uſe to do the living, when they won the *Game*. For the ſame reaſon, doutleſſe, was it that they did κωνοβολεῖν (as they called it) fall a throwing of boughs and leaves upon the grave: as *Euripides* ſayes, they did to *Polyxena* when ſhe dyed (for in latter times, if a man had won a race or the like, they had a cuſtome to bedeck his valiant Corps with boughs and leaves) you have it done by an old Fellow in *a Euripides* with Myrtle.

b Pedag. l. 11. *c* 8.

a Elect. v. 510.

——τύμβῳ δ' ἀμφιδύκα μυρσίνας.

Whether was there any alluſion therein to the *golden bough* or no? I think not: but if you will, you may read more of that bough in *Virgil*, and in *Servius* his notes upon him. It ſeems that in *Italy* they had the ſame cuſtome. For ſaies *b Varro*, *ad Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they *carried leaves to caſt upon the dead*. And that they took the pains to make Garlands too, will appear by thoſe words of *Min. Felix* to *Octavius*, *Coronas etiam ſepulchris denegatis* &c. nay *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, ſaies my Author, they came to wool at laſt when they had more to ſpare.

Æn. 6.

b L. 6. de L.L.

CAP. XXIII.

De Columnis de Oratione. & Ludis funebribus. & de Aquilis.

EIther upon, or cloſe by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law, To the Pillar ſometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of ſomewhat elſe to reſemble him. Thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the Image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*: and *Iſocrates* with the Image of

a *Syren*, for being an *Orator*. And it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over constant love to his wife, when he would get her Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Σοὶ δ' χειρὶ πικτίνων δέμας τὸ σὸν
Εὐνᾶσιν ἐν λέκτροισιν ἐκπλήσει πάρα.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private discourse at home at the feast, or by a publique speech in the *Ceramicus*. Which speech, if the party dyed in a battel was to be made by one appointed by the Magistrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of burial, but every year after: as *Cicero* sayes, *in Popolari oratione mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in prælio sint interfecti: quæ sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illâ die recitari necesse sit.* Lib. de Orat.

The first that began this custome of making speeches, some say was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slain in the *Peloponnesian* war; and some *Solon*. But besides funeral speeches, they had funeral *plays* too, ἀγῶνας θηκτικούς both the Play and the Feast, commonly go under the name of πότος.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practised by the unhappy people of those times, even in burials, when they should have more wit: what will you say, if I have that yet left, which will please you all as much, *viz.* That even they themselves for the most part, esteemed those practises, both unprofitable to the dead, and vain and foolish in the living, as may appear in the words of *Hecuba* her self, or the * Poët for her.

* Eurip. Troad. v. 1247.

Δοκῶ δ' τοῖς θανοῦσι διαφέρειν βροτῶν,
Εἰ πλουσίων τις τάδε κτερισμάτων
κεῖνον δ' ἀμοιρεῖν φῶς ζώντων τὸ δίκαιον.

I think it boots the dead the least of all,
How rich or poor they have their funeral,
Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus disposed of the body, they returned home. For the Soule they take no care, unlesse it were a King or a Prince

Prince, whose soules they imagined χαῖδας to be carried into heaven upon *Eagles wings*: and therefore was it, that they were [a] wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So at Rome when they buried an Emperour, they used to let fly an Eagle over the grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* ἀετὸν an Eagle, because he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach. [a] Artemid. l. 2. c. 30.

CAP. XXXIV.

De Lustratione Domus funestæ, & de Parentalibus, &c.

BEing come home, they fell a purging and *Lustrating* the *house* with brimstone, and *themselves*, by going through the fire, or some other lustration, for there were several sorts thereof, and if I have leasure, I may chance to speak more of it. Thus I remember in the Poet, 'tis said they did to the Kings house, who was slain by *Hercules*: rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the Laver in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Ἐχ μὲν λέβητος περιφορεῖς Διὸς
Καδίσκος εἶκον. [*] Eurip. Hercl. F. v. 923.

After this they kept a feast, τὸ περιστιατον *Silicernium*, or *circum potationem*, as the manner is with some of us. Those that were at it, wore Garlands, as *Cicero* sayes, *quas inibant, parentes coronati*. The colour of their apparrel was white: & *quis unquam cœnavit atratus*, sayes [*] *Cicero*. But how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thebis* to go all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son. So I remember *Admetus* in [*] *Euripides* bids them mourn for *Alcestis*, ἐν μελανείμοσι στολαῖς in black: and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funeral of *Adonis* κυανοστόλῳ in a *sky coloured gown*. Perchance they wore black no longer than till it came to the feast. This feast they renewed again; not only nine dayes after, when they called it ἐνατα, and thirty dayes after, when they called it τριακοστὰς (when they sacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their soules to the *fields*) but also upon the day of his death ever after, calling

[*] Odyss. 17. In vatidium. [*] Alc. v. 427.

ing it γενέσια, and upon the days of his birth calling it γενέσια. The common name for all the feasts, or the common festivall for all the infernal rites, and for all persons, was Νεκύσια, usually kept in the Month of *Anthesterion*, as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Month of *February*, *in quibus parentabantur manibus inferorum*, when the kindred especially (*Ii parentes*) did sacrifice both to the earth and the gods under it, and the ghosts of their Parents, or their Ancestors above it.

Of all these funeral rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the person deceased, might be suffered to bear any part: as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chrysothemis* forbidding her to sacrifice,

Οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐχθρὰς ἀνδρὸς ἰσχύειν τάφου
Κτερίσματα.

Nor so much as come neer the grave: as *Ulysses* in *Sophocles* is forbid to do to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay such was *Sepulchrales sanctitas*, (saies *Tully*) that no *stranger* might be suffered to do it, for fear he *might* be an *enemy*. Moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, than what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the *Mouth* of death, (for so * *Homer* calls the grave) to be *gnawn like a sheep*, by the never satisfied teeth of hungry שְׁאוֹל. For Psal. 49. 14. τυμβεύεται he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the *belly* of the earth, is as properly said to be devoured, as what is devoured and inclosed in the stomack of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly said to be buried τυμβεύεσθαι. For so the *Vultures* are called * ζῶντες τύμβοι, *living graves*. Nay the Metaphor is commonly made reach to men themselves, some of whom, even *their mouths are open sepulchers*, as well as the bellyes have been of others. As that of *Tereus* when he eat his Son.

—*Sequi vocat bustum miserabile nati.*

And of *Saturn* when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted so synonymous, that (as

Lactantius

* Il. ϛ. Hermog.

Lactantius saies) *Saturn* was thought to have been said to have eaten his Sons, because he buried them where they might not be seen. Well, it cannot be helpt, these great eaters, Death and the Grave are all mouth, & no ears, like the belly. There's no stopping nor filling their mouths. Ἅιδης ἐν θεοῖς οὐκ ἔχει βωμούς, saies *Æschylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*, He is inexorable, and therefore called ἄπιστος & ἄδικος in *Euripides*. Neither (saies a* Scholiast) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not where. Let us see therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone. L 1. c. 13. * On Hom. Il.

His Wife, if she seemed to be with child, was taken into the care & protection of the *Archon*, least she might be cunningly perswaded to marry with whom she should not, and if any man offered to wrong her, the punishment was arbitrary. The children were committed ἐπιτρόπῳ to a *Tutor*. He that was ἐπίτροπος, to be overseer or Guardian, was either not to be of kin at all; or else so far off, that if the child should happen to die in his nonage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will, or by appointment of the *Archon*. Which way soever it were, he was κύριος τῶν χρημάτων (saies *Æschines*) and had the managing of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty year old: and then either they themselves, or any else that would, might sue out δίκην ἐπιτροπῆς a Writ *Malè administratæ Tutelæ*, And have him before the *Archon*. But this must be done within five years after the Pupil came to be of age, or not at all.

LIB.

LIBER SEXTVS

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

CAP. I.

De Supplicibus sacris, De Asylis & Aris.

SECTIO. I. HAving taken this care to see the Marriage of himself, the Education of his children, and the honourable Burial of his Body, it will be expected, that now I say somewhat in commendation of his condition, and concerning his manner of Life, either towards the gods, or towards Men. Of his carriage towards the Gods because there has been something already done in that kind, I shall not speak so largely; only a word or two, or more of the customs used in *Supplications* to, and in Swearing by the gods, and then I shall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equalls, and giving to the Poor; or his Enemies in waging of War. This Treatise, because of the diversity of subjects, I have divided into three severall Sections, the first of Supplication, called by them ἱκετεῖα.

The person of a distressed Petitioner (as an abused slave, or the like) whether he addressed himself to men, or to the gods, but especially if to the gods, was to be lookt upon as sacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, sent from *Dodona's* Vocall Forrest to the *Athenians*, related by *Pausanias*.

Φεύζεο δ' Ἀχαιΐης πάγον ἐμὸν τε δυώδεος
Εὐμηλίδων, ὅτι χὴ Λακεδαιμονίων ἱκετεύσω,
Δυσὶ πεζομένους, τοὺ μὴ σὺ κτείνεις σιδήρῳ,
Μηδ' ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν, ἱκέῃ ἱερόν τε ἠ ἀγυιάς.

For if he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed to be Ασυλοι, none might touch him upon pain of exilement.

ment. And therefore is it that *Polydorus* in *Euripides* makes it such a ground for his confidence: saies he

—Βωμοὶ δ' ἐγγὺς πάλαι πάρεισι, *The Altars are not far off.* So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondring thereat, [a] *what* (saies he) *dost Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode?* And no wonder *they* thus fled to Altars, or that *others* feared to meddle with, or to slay any body neer them: *viz.* Because they thought the blood would be upon them that should do it, yea though the Supplicants were already dead in the Law. For so the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Creüsa, the law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death. True* (saies he) *but I must be killed by the same Law No matter* (replies the Chorus) *sit fast, and if any one kill thee there,*

[a] Eurip. Hel. v. 805.

[b] Περιστόπιον αἷμα θήσεις, [b] Ib. v. 1258.

Thy blood shall be upon him.

Insomuch that a great many even among them, seeing Malefactors thus protected from the *Law*, and consequently encouraged to the *transgression*, were bold to complain of the injustice of it, as you have *Ion* in the *Tragedy*, thus

Φεῦ δεινόν γε, θνητοῖς τοῦ νόμους ὡς ἀ κλῶς
Ἔθηκεν ὁ Διὸς ἐξ' ἀπὸ γραμμῆς σοφῆς,
Τὰς μὲ γὰρ ἀδίκους βωμὸν οὐκ ἔχειν ἐχεῖν
Ἀλλ' ἐξελαύνειν ἐδὲ γὰρ ἀνεῖναι καλὸν
Θεῶν πονηρὸν χεῖρα.

I said before, *such or such* because 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this priviledge, but only six, *viz.* *Misericordiæ, Minervæ, Eumenidum, Munichiæ*, and two of *Theseus* Temples, one within, and other without the Walls. The first of these some say was the first *Asylus* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preserve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius ad Æn* 8. *Postquam Hercules migravit è terris, nepotes ejus timentes insidias eorũ quos avus afflixerat, Athenis sibi primi Asylũ, hoc est, templum misericordiæ collocarunt, unde nullus posset abduci.* An example imitated by other people, almost in every Country. For they thought that otherwise a beast had a safer

condition than a man, ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγὴν τὴν μὲ πῦρ καὶ, δοῦλοι ἢ βωμὸς θεῶν. But is he now safe for ever? yes, unless they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we use to do Eeles. &c.

In Rud. Act. 3. Sc. 4. And thus he in *Plautus* threatned to do.

Ibo Herclè aliquò quæritatum ignem.

Ignem magnum hic faciam. and *Hermione* in *Euripides* to *Andromache* sheltring her self by the Altar of *Thetis*. Πῦρ τοι φερσίπο— on which the Scholiast thus, Εθος ἦν τοῖς ἱκέταις καταφεύγειν πῦρ ποιοῦντες. &c. And yet all ἱκέται or Petitioners were not so afraid of a fire, as appears by the name of Εφέστιοι, which they have from flying to *hearths*, the place for the fire, for refuge: as *Themistocles* did, when being *Ostracis'd* and banished, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Molossi* for shelter. Otherwise none that fled thither could be so wicked, but they counted him worse that should meddle with him. Insomuch that those who killed the followers of *Cylon* (though they plundred the Temple of *Minerva*) because they killed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themselves, and all other such *prophane* companions after them, called ἀλιτήριοι, as who should say, *hinderers of supplication*. Prophane, I said, for it was no better than profanation according to the Poet, σὺν μιαίνω, the Garlands are *Polluted*.

Eurip. in Heracl.

CAP. II.

De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.

PEtitioners both to the gods and men, used to go with στέμματα, Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their hands *a* ἵνα αἱ ἱκεσίαι δοκοῖεν τοῖς, οἷς ἱκέτευον (saith the Scholiast on *Sophocles*) to beget respect, and amuse the beholders. Those green boughs are called by the several names of θαλοί, συλλάβες ἐκ τῆρες, ἱκτήριοι κλάδοι. and sometimes ἱκετηρίαι, for *b Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father she would make her own body supply the room thus,

a In Oedip.

b In Aul. v. 2216.

ἱκετείαν δ' γόνασιν ἐξάπτω σέθεν

τὸ σῶμα τιμῶν.—

In thoſe boughs they put wool, (as we do ſilk in poſies) and ſo called them εἰρεσιώνας, *vittatas laureas.*

Λήϊεν μεγίσῳ σωτῆρος ἐστεμμένον — Æſchyl. in Eum

Ἀργῷ ἡμένῳ The wool was not ty'd and ſo faſtned to the boughs, but onely wreathed and wrapped up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthra* in the Tragedy of the *Theban women petitioners* (v. 31.) called it δεσμὸν ἄλυσιν φυλλάδος the *Tye without a knot.* The *Italians* uſed ſuch boughs too, as it ſeems, for *Virgil* ſaies.

Jamque oratores aderant ex Urbe Latina
Velati ramis oleæ veniamque rogantes.

And *Livy* ſpeaks of the like practice of the people of *Rhodes.* The boughs were either of *Laurel* or *Olive.*

c *Vittatæ lauru, & ſupplicis arbor Olivæ.*

Firſt, becauſe both thoſe kinds are ἀειθαλεῖς *not ſubject to withering*, and therefore *a Euripides* gives the latter the Epithete of ἀκήρατον. 2ly. Becauſe the Laurel was a ſign of *prevailing*, and the Olive of peace and good will, as *Lactantius* ſaies *per quam pax petitur ſupplicando.* Now the cuſtome was with thoſe boughs, if they were doubtfull of prevailing, to touch but the *knees* of the man whom they petitioned, or of the ſtatue of the God, juſt as *a Lucretia* did γονάτων αὐτοῦ καθομένη. But if hopeful, the *hands* b ἐξικτάδες τ' ἐμὰς χεῖρες δεμνίων. And if confident, the *chin*, and the *cheeks*, ἐς ὄρος c γενείου. It is ſaid by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his νεμ. (where the Poet deſires to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he praies for a *Gale* of ſucceſſe for the *Æginetæ*) that when they deſired the parties *conſent*, they touched the head to have it *annuere*; when his help, his *helping* hand; when ſucceſſe, the knee. The laſt I know no great *reaſon* for, but *Hiſtory* enough, even from the *Natural Hiſtorian* himſelf. *Hominis genibus quædam religio ineſt obſervatione gentium; hæc ſupplices attingunt, ad hæc manus tendunt, hac ut aras adorant.* All *his reaſon* is, becauſe of the abundance of ſpirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortaſſe quia ineſt iis vitalitas, quippe quorũ inanitate foſſa, ſeu jugulo, ſpiritus fugiat.* And therefore *Homer* makes the *Litæ*, the *Petitio-*

a Sta. Theb. l. 12
d In Ion. v. 1436

a Dion. Halic. l. 4.
b Soph. Oed. T.
c Eurip. in Heracl.

petitioners Gods to be lame. As good as that of *Zenobius* ὅτι οἱ κρινόμενοι καὶ τῆς γόνασιν εἶχον, ἃ νῦν ἐπὶ τῶν βιβλίων γράφεται, *because* Judges *had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.*

If the Petitioners were very fearfull, and the persons of very great quality, they would bow so low as to kisse his
Xenoph. l. 4 feet: as those did to *Cyrus*, Κύρου καταπίπτειν ἐς γόνατα καὶ ποδας. It was either this kisse, or a kisse of their own hand, which they anciently termed *labratum*. The *old glesse* calls it φίλημα βασιλικὸν, ἢ ἀπὸ χειρὸς βασιλέως. I have read of a kisse of the hand, when they did their reverence to the Gods, with putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt, which they used in counting the number of ten) and then giving a turn on their right hand, as it is in *d Plautus.*

b In Curculi. *Quò me vortam, nescio. Si Deos salutas, a extro versum, censeo.*

The safest place for a Petitioner to men too, as well as to the Gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire, whether they presently ran, when they came to any strange place in travel, or exilement, as to the onely Altar of the house, and the gods thereof. For according to that of *Cicero* in his *oration for his house, Nihil sanctius, nihil omni religione munitius, quàm domus uniuscujusq; civium. Hic aræ sunt, hic foci, hic dii penates, hic sacra religionis cæremoniæ continentur: hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde avelli neminem fas sit.* When they had once seated themselves there in the ashes, in as mournful a posture as might be, they need not *open their mouths* for pitty; neither was it the custome so to do: For those *actions* speak loud enough, and an *eye* would serve for hearing.

Τῶ δ' ἄνεω, ἢ ἀναυδὶ ἐφ' ἑστίᾳ αἰθομένῃ
ἵζανον. &c.

L. 4 Argon. *a* Odyss. 7. Thucydid. This was the practice of *Ulysses* at the house of *Alcinous*, and of *Themistocles* at the house of *Admetus*; but so as first, by the instruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little son along with him for his guard, τοῦτο μεγίστῳ καὶ μόνῳ σωθῆναι παραρρῆτον ἱκετεύουσιν τῶν Μολοσσῶν, the only way *in use among the people to obtain a request.*

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for help, their fashion was first to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray that their desires might be crowned with successe.

ὁ Πάντως δὲ Σωμὸς, οἱ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δόμους
Προσῆλθε, καζίσε τε, χὠ θεσπύξατο
Πτέρυγων ὑπορρὼς σῶμα μυρσίνων ἑβδῶν.

b Eurip. in Alcest.

Their usuall gesture in praying, was to hold up their *arms* right toward Heaven, as *c Helen* saies

—οὐρθὰς ὠλένας πρὸς ἠέρα
Ῥιπτάσασ'—

c Eurip. Helen. v. 1210.

But to wrest their *hands* as far as they could upon their wrests. According to that of *Æschylus*, where he saies of *Prometheus*, that though the gods had tyed him fast to the hill, his stomach was so great, that he said he scorned to submit or pray *manibus supinis*, with *bended hands* like Women and children: γυναικόμορφος ὑπτιάσματα χερῶν.

Now sometimes if they obtained their request, and it were a matter of consequence, you shou'd have them relate it to the Priest of the Temple to be registred; or write it down in a Table, and leave it behind them, to shew for a testimony.

CAP. III.

De generibus, & locis sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have observed in reading, concerning their manner of serving their Gods. Their divine services in respect of the cause or occasion, were 1. εὐκταῖα or χαριστήρια, *vota, free-will offerings*, services promised and paid for a victory, or the like,

—*Cenæo sacra parabat*
Vota Jovi — εἰγ. τὰ ἐκ μαντείας, *such as were imposed*, and *commanded by* an *Oracle*.

Ovid. Met l. 9.

—Εὐκταῖα τοῖσιν ἢ ἐκ μαντείας τινὲς;

Sophoc. in Trach.

In respect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were

were formed) they were done either 1. ὑποχθονίοις to the *gods under ground*, and that ἐπὶ ἐσχάρᾳ in a ditch digged, or plowed up for that purpose. The Latines called it *Ara*, such as they used when they sacrificed to the *Heroes*, (for whom they had also Ἡρῶα, Temples and Plaies, and what not) together with the [a] Image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to set it forth. 2dly. Τοῖς χθονίοις, to the gods *upon ground*, much in the same manner. And 3ly Τοῖς ὑψίοις, to the gods *above ground*, ἐπὶ βωμῷ, upon an Altar raised up high from the ground, which the *Latines* therefore called *Altare*, and the *Greeks* [b] ἔρκος ὑψηλὸν, and [c] γαίας ἕρμα, as if it were a *work, vallum*, or *agger*, made up of earth cast up together. The distinction betwixt βωμὸς and ἐσχάρα, is set down by the *Scholiast* on [a] *Euripides* thus. Βωμὸς *is an Altar built up high with an ascent of several steps:* ἐσχάρα *is as it were one step it selfe, after the fashion of some hearths in the figure of a quadrangle.* (Just as they made their Λόγχοι [b] wherein they powred some oyle & wine and tempered it with the dust, to make cakes for the Divell) The occasion given them to make this distinction, was the word βώμιοι ἐσχάραι in the Author: whereupon he notes that ἐσχάρα was there used in a large sence, for the *hole*, τὸ κοίλωμα or the *concavitie* in the top of the βωμὸς for the fire. At the making of a βωμὸς (and so at the making of a statue to be worshipped) they had a custome ὑφαίνων ἑκάστη ἱμάτιον χίτωνα ποικίλον καὶ πολύχρωμον for women in garments of severall colours, to carry about pots of severall sorts of boyled pulse, and offer thereof to the [b] gods.

——πὰς χύτρας ὅτις ἔφερεν
Ἱερυσόμεθα, λαβὼν ὁπὶ ἐκ κεφαλῆς φέρε.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and so it may be called χῶμα or *tumulus*, as it uses to be sometimes of ashes; sometimes of earth and blood tempered together; sometimes of stone, and sometimes of wood. For the figure, it was sometimes long, and sometimes square; but most often [d] κυκλοτερὴς round: as the Theatre, the market-places, and their Tables used to be. The places where they made their Altars, were usually *Mountaines* and *high-places* (so often objected

[a] Schol. in Arist. in Avib.

[b] Soph. in Trach: [c] Eurip. in Heracl.

[a] In Phœniss.

[b] Schol. in Aristoph. Eccles.

[c] Schol in Aristoph. in Pluto

[d] Odyss. ρ.

jected to the heathenish Israelites) for according to the Scholiast upon these words of *e Sophocles*, ἡ Ὅπως ζηλὸς ὑψίσου πάγου &c. πᾶν ὄρος τῷ Διὶ ἐφιερώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ὅτι τῷ θεῷ ἐν ὑψηλῷ ἔδει θύειν τὰς θυσίας ταπεινῶν τὰς περὶ αὐτόν, *every Mountaine was called by Jupiters name, or consecrated to Jupiter, because the god being in a high place, it was fit to sacrifice to him in a high place*, to be heard the better; as it was to the terrestiall gods in a low, to come nearer to them. Besides, the Altar in such a place, was the lesse in danger to be got up upon, and profaned, as being kept (as the same Scholiast saies) ἀβέβηλον καὶ ἄβατον. e in Trach.

Thirdly, In respect of time, some do say that they sacrificed to the *Heroe's*, [a] ἐν δειλαίαις αὖ ἦν *in the evening*, and to others in the morning. a Pindar. Isth.

Lastly, in respect of the matter or the thing sacrificed, it was either τῶν ζώων of *living* creatures, properly called θυσία, or else of things *without* life; and those either ξηρῶν dry, as corn and flower, or τῶν ὑγρῶν wet, as Wine, or Milke, or Hony usually called by the name of χοαί. The first *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing; and so was all for his ἀγναὶ θυσίαι, wherein there was no blood, or ἄναιμοι θυσίαι, (as *Thucidides* calls them) where there was no smoak, or ἀπυρίαι θυσίαι, where there was no wine. But every one else almost lik't it too well, and no such glorious a businesse as an ἐναγὴς θυσία, *a whole burnt sacrifice*. Sometimes greater than a *Suovetaurilia*, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat: and sometimes but a τρίττυς of a Sow, a Ramme and a Goat. I hardly believe they ever went so high as an hundred notwithstanding τελεώτατοι ἑκατόμβαι. Out of every sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Commissaries, unlesse they were robbed of their due: as it seems they were sometimes, by him in the Poet, threatning to complain of one that did so, b Schol. in Eurip. c Suidas.

d κἀγὼ τὸ φαυλότατον τῶν θυμάτων
Ἀφελόμενος τῶν θεῶν ἑξακοσίας
ἐκείσομαι χιλίας. d Arist. in Equit.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De generibus & formulis jurandi.

*Hesiod *Ep ad Heb. 6. 16.

ΟΡΚΟΣ an *Oath*, (the son *of Eris, and yet the *end *of all contention*) was of two sorts, viz. ὁ μέγας, & ὁ μικρὸς, the greater and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods, or the gods themselves, by the *Stygian Lake*.

Idem in Theogon.

Αὐτὰρ τὸν δὴ θῆκε θεῶν μέγαν ἔμμεναι ὅρκον.

Which is the cause why some fetch the word ὅρκος *An oath*, from *Orcus Hell*. This Oath was then invented by *Jupiter*, and prescribed by him to the rest of the gods, when he had the assistance of *Styx*, and his sons against the *Titans*; or when he dranke of the water, to quench his thirst in the fight. *Servius* sayes (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had sworne false, or broken his oath when he swore by *Styx*, he was to be punished for it in hell nine thousand yeares. Which order, even *Jupiter* himselfe submitted to, and therefore took the more care how he sware, as *Minutius* sayes, *Destinatam enim sibi cum suis cultoribus pœnam præscius perhorrescit*. He that swore either of these wayes was properly said τὸ ὀμνύειν, and to yeild himselfe up to the mercy of those that were able to punish him, if he called them to witnesse that which was contrary to his *knowledge* or his *meaning*. So that sometimes it was the custome to adde an imprecation of some evill, wherewith he knew them able to punish him, if they swore false: As *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

Οὐ μὰ ζῆν' Ἀγάλης, καὶ ἄλγεα πατρὸς ἐμοῖο.

By *Jove, and the sorrows of my Father*.

a In Elect.

The *Womens* oath was commonly by *Juno*, and *by my lady Diana*, as a *Clytemnestra* uses in *Euripides*, μὰ τὴν Δίκαιαν Ἄρτεμιν, much like the superstitious oath of *By my Lady*, among some of us. The gods, by whom the *men* were to sweare by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Jupiter* ὁμώνυμος with three names) viz. Ἱκέσιος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἑρκεῖος. For that *Jupiter* was the proper *Custos juramentorum*,

mentorum, (as I may call him) if it do not appeare, (as ſome ſay it does) in the word *jusjurandum*, *quaſi Jovis jurandum*, it will ſufficiently be proved by the plaine teſtimony of the Poët, that ſaies, —Ζῆνα δ' ὃς ὅρκων
Θραπῆς τιμίας νενόμικεν. Eurip. Med. v. 170.

But ſo farre were they from being contented to ſweare by none but *Jupiter*, that not only any *other* of the *gods*, but any of their own *men* lately-dead, and thought to be defiled, did ſerve the turn: as when *Demoſthenes* ſwore by τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, *thoſe that valiently died in the battle of Marathon*. Sometimes for over much haſte or confidence, or ſome ſuch reaſon, they left it to the party, to whom they ſwore, to chuſe any of the gods, whomſoever he pleaſed to be tryed by: in this manner, ὄμνυμί σοι τινὰ τῶν θεῶν, as we ſay, *Ile lay you what you will*. This forme you may find uſed in *Plato in Phædro*, and *Ariſtenetus* in his Epiſtle of [a] *Euxitheus* to *Pytheas*. Sometimes they ſwore by many gods together in the plurall number, without ſpecifying whom they meant. And ſometimes by all their *twelve gods*, (as the *Lacedemonians* did by *their two* τὼ Διοσκόρω, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*) [b] μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας, — by *the whole jury of the gods*. (neither honeſt, nor true; only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher houſe, and *Dees conſentes*, and ſo they put them together.) Other times again, they ſwore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place wherein they were, eſpecially belonged: expreſſing his name. For ſo in the Market in buying and ſelling, or the like buſineſſe, they commonly ſwore this Oath νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν, *by Mercury*. But then you ſhould have ſome that out of meer *deiſidæmony*, would ſay no more than μὰ τὸν Δία *By Jove &c.* εὐλαβείας χάριν ἐνδημιζόμενοι, with a [c] religious *apoſiopeſis*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the *oath by an oath it ſelfe*, [d] μὰ τὸν ὅρκον, νὴ or μὰ with ναὶ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath, and μὰ for a negative.

[a] L. 2. Ep. 2.

[b] Ariſtoph. Equeſt.

[c] Ariſtoph. in Ran.

[d] Pind. Nem.

CAP. V.

De ritibus in Juramento Magno,

THE Customes in taking a *Great* Oath, if it were in a publick manner, and by way of vindication of the truth were these. The Gods used to lift up their hands, as *Apollo* in the Poet bids *Lacheſis* χεῖρας ὀρεκτῶσαι, Little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in severall places. Men when they swore a great oath, laid down their hands upon the Altar, as we do upon the new Testament: whereas in a lesse. or in a private oath, made to such or such a Man, by way of a bargain or a promise, according to the Roman fashion, they laid their hand upon the hand of the party to whom they swore. This Ceremony, I remember,

a Helen v. 834. *Menelaus* in *a Euripides* demanded of *Helena* besides the words of her oath.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς ἢ τοῖς γυῶ, δεξιᾶς ἐμῆς δίγε.

Secondly. To honour the gods by whom they swore, they

b Aristoph in Lysist. sacrificed the life of *one* of those three beasts, βοὸς, ὡς, τράγου, and τράγος, a Boare, a Ramme, and a Goat: or all *three*, of every sort one, or three of one of the sorts, as *Adrastus* was made to do of three sheep, in behalf of the *Argivi*.

— ϛ λαμβὼν τρεῖς κειῶν μήλων ταμών: which they called μηλοσφαγῆν. Sometimes when they killed a Boare, they cut

c Eurip. Sup. v. 1200. out the stone (ὅρκος and ὅρκια are pretty neare kin) and stood upon them as they swore. A Ramme or a Boare thus used is properly calld τομίας. Perhaps, they used to sacrifice Pigs chiefly (as the Roman, did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. And good reason choyce should be made of that beast, rather than any other in swearing to, since there was so great account made of it in other businesses, as solemn as that. For first *Jupiter* was nursed by a Sow, say some) and concealed by the noyse of the grunting: and therefore with the *Grecians* his country men, there might be no initiation without it. Secondly, *Varro* d saith *pecoris immolandi initi-*

d De Re Rust.

um ſumptum à ſuillo, that it was the firſt beaſt that was ſacrificed, which made ſome think that ὗς was ſo called, *quaſi* σὺς, and *Sus quaſi Thus.* Nay it was a creature ſo greatly *ſacred,* (or imployed to a *ſacred uſe*,) that *Sacres* by it ſelfe, is uſed for little pigges conſecrated for a Sacrifice. The fleſh that was wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in theſe was not to be *a* eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fiſh. For either they buried it in the *b* ground, or elſe threw it into the Sea: as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was ſacrificed at an oath of *Agamemnons.*

a Ariſt. in Luſiſt.
b Euſtat. in Il. γ.

CAP. VI.

De juramento Parvo & ejus ritibus.

MIκρὸς ὅρκος, or the little oath, was when they ſwore by a creature (and their *gods* were hardly ſo much) ſuch as *per Cramben*, or by a Gooſe or a Dogge, κύνα or χῆνα, as the Socraticks did, having that practiſe commended to them by their owne Maſter: who (as it is in the Scholies upon *Ariſtophanes*) in his twelfth Book περὶ Κρητικῶν, had told them that *Radamanthus* the juſteſt man that ever lived, had expreſly forbid them to ſweare by the gods; but inſtead thereof had allowed them the uſe of a Dogge or a Gooſe, or a Ramme, or ſuch like creatures. Sometimes they ſwore by the ground they ſtood upon, as *Hippolytus* does, in *Euripides.*

In Avib.

—χθόνα πόδα χθονὸς ὄμνυμι.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made uſe of. If the matter were ſerious, you might hear them ſwearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in *Virgil.*

d V. 1075.

Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante ſolebat.

Which was the reaſon (ſaies *Athenæus*) firſt, why they accounted the head ἱερόν τι, *holy and ſacred.* 2ly, Why they did προσκυνεῖν τοὺ πταμοὺς, *bow* the knee at a Sneeze. 3ly, Why the old Philoſophers made ſuch a ſcruple to eate of the head of any kind of creature. And 4ly, Why they uſed this oath but

e L. 2.

ſeldome, accounting it ἀγνὸν ὅρκον, as *Helena* called it when ſhe ſwore to *Menelaus*, though it were by *his* head, and not her own. Αλλ' ἀγνὸν ὅρκον σὸν κάρα κατώμοσα.

The Cuſtomes uſed both in the Little and Great Oaths too, in abjuring and purging of crimes, were ſometimes creeping upon their hands thorough the fire, or holding in their hands a red hot Iron, (μυσὸν they called it, ſuch a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Schollar *Euripides* [a] took to the Sunne to be) ſuppoſing (as the Scholiaſt ſaies upon *Sophocles*) τὸν μὲν ἀνόχως τὸ ἁμαρτήμαν ἐκτίσις μὴ ἀλγεῖν, *that if they were not guilty of the crime, they ſhould not be ſenſible of the pain.* Thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like cuſtome, we read to have been in uſe among the Saxon anceſtors, and for the ſame purpoſe, under the name of *Fire Ordeal*. For *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, p ſſing blindfolded in the ſpaces between a great many red-hot Plow-ſhares laid on the ground: and *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the ſecond holding a red hot Iron in her hand, receiving no hutt thereby, cleared themſelves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they took the Iron and threw it into the Sea, ſolemnly vowing to keep the *Oath* without *breaking*, as long as the Sea ſhould the Iron without *ſwimming*.

[a] Schol. Eurip. in Hel.

[b] Callimach.

——μέχρις ἂ μὴν μέγας ἰὸν ἀλὶ μύδρος.

Sometimes (as I have known Boyes do among us) they wrote the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it ſwom, and the water could endure it, he ſwore true, bnt if it ſunk, and the water would not ſuffer it to be ſeen, he was to be puniſhed immediately without more adoe. And this puts me in mind of the League with the Athenians, which the Poet ſaies, they would have written in the hollow of a *tripus*, and the *tripus* to be ſent to Delphos to *Apollo*, to be there kept for a teſtimony, and a memoriall.

Μνημεῖα δ' ὅρκων μαρτυρήματ' Ἑλλάδι.

to be produced when occaſion ſhould require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his eighth book *de Clitophontis, & Leucippes amoribus*) ſpeaks of a cuſtome, if a Wench were accuſed of

Whore-

Whoredome, to have her make a formal oath of denyall, and having written the oath in a table, to ſtand in water up to the ſhinnes, with the table about her neck. If ſhe were chaſt, and had ſworne true, the water remained as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀργίζεται (ſaies he) *the very water grows angry at it, and never leaves ſwelling, till it go up as high as her neck, and cover the table; leſt ſo horrid a ſight as a falſe oath, ſhould look the Sun and the World in the face.*

CAP. VII.

De perjurii religione.

IF a man made a conſcience of ſwearing aright, he was counted religious indeed, Inſomuch that εὐόρκος, was commonly uſed for εὐσεβὴς,

Οὐδέ τις εὔορκος χαίρει ἐὼν, ὅτι δικαίως. in *Heſiod*

and—εἴ τι χαίρεις εὔορκος ὢν ὅπως. in *Ariſtophanes.*

Whereas on the other ſide, when they expreſſed a very wicked man, they made uſe of the word ἐπίορκος *perjurious.* And therefore *Ariſtophanes* (*in nubibus*) ſpeaking of *Jupiters* lightnings and thunderbolts, which ſome ſaid, that they did more hurt to the *wicked* than to others, ſaies he, εἶτα βάλλει πῶς ἐπίορκε, *if perjured men are only lyable to be ſtruck, how comes it to paſſe that Cleonymus and Theodorus eſcape ſo well? or that the poor Oake tree is ſo often hurt?* χὠ δρῦς ἐπίορκος, *ſince it can never be perjur'd.* Such as were common and cuſtomary ſwearers, for ill making, as well as ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἀεδνῶοι from Ἀεδνῆς (ſaith *Heſychius*) the place where the oaths uſed to be adminiſtred. Now for the puniſhment of ſuch vile perſons, they ſuppoſed the furies every fifth day to have a viſitation, and to walk the round, for that purpoſe: according to that of *Heſiod.*

Ἐν πεμπάδι γὰρ φασὶν ἐελδομένας ἀμφιπολεύειν.

Ὅρκον πεπυμένας —

and therefore *Agamemnon*, when he ſwore that he never had

a In Plut.

b Dict.

to do with *Briseïs*, called the Furies to witnesse too, as well as the *Earth* and the *Sun*.

——Ἐρινύες αἳ τ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν
Ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.

Nay in some places, the insensible creatures seemed to be sensible of the sinne, and save the Furies a labour. For I have read that in a Temple at *Palice* a City in *Cicily*, there were certain *crateres* or *fonts*, out of which there rose sometimes flames, and sometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people used to resort from other places, for deciding of controversies by taking an oath. For if any one swore false near these fonts, he was presently strucken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Besides these, there were other means of their own appointing to affright men from perjury. Such as that of the Image of *Jupiter* Ὁρκίου, πάντων ὀφθαλμὸν ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἐς ἔκπαγλον ἐπίκοον ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the most dreadfull manner of any, *viz.* with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of brasse at his feet, on which were engraven certain Elegaical verses, composed of purpose to terrify such as durst invocate that god in falshood. All this moved the *Lacedemonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet said of them.

Pausan. in Eli.

Οἶσιν ὅτι ξωμοὶ, ὅτι πίστις, ὦδ' ὁρκίου μένει.

Which you will say is very likely, if you remember the saying of *Lysander*, one of their own Generals, ἀξιαπατᾶν χρῆναι παῖδας ἰξ ἀστραγάλοις, πολεμίους δ' ὅρκοις, *fallere oportet pueros astragalis, hostes autem juramentis.*

De Ritu Convivandi.

CAP. 1.

De Leſchis, & de tempore victûs capiendi.

SECT. II.

WHat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as if an *Athenian* were charitable, *and ſo he died*) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poor, and among his companions as *merry as a Greek*. Of the goodneſs of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant teſtimonies, whereby I ſhall make it appear, how tender hearted they were, not onely to men in *philanthropy*, but even to bruit Beaſts. For the firſt you may hear it from *Demoſthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not ſo ſafe for ſuch expreſſions) they brought going on the way, and carried every one ſomething under his arme, to furniſh him for his journey, inſomuch that at parting he cryed out Πῶς φέρειν δυνήσομαι τοιαύτην ἀπολιμπάνων πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ τοιοῦτοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, οἷς οὐκ ἄν τις ἀλλαχόθι φίλους εὕροι. *How ſhall I endure to leave ſuch a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where elſe?* For the laſt you ſhall have two pretty inſtances, as I had them from the ſame Author. The firſt is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expell'd the houſe for killing a Sparrow, which being purſued by another bird fled into his boſome for ſhelter: Ὡς οὐκ ἄτοπα δεδράκοι (ſaies he *as if he had not done righteous things*) ὃς οὕτως ἐχθρὸς εἴη τοῖς πτωχοῖς καὶ δεομένοις τῶν τρόπων, not ſo much out of love to the Sparrow, as hatred to his conditions. The laſt is of one *Praxitiles*, whom for skinning of a Ramm alive, they puniſhed much after the ſame manner, as the Ramme was, ἀπεμυττώτησαν. The goodneſſe of his nature among his companions, appeared either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and diſcourſe,

aPdoc. ad 1591.

course. For there is εὐωχὴ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις saies *Theophraſtus*, *good cheer* in words, as well as in meat and drink. *Ariſtophanes* calls it φαγεῖν τὰ ῥήματα, *eating of Words*, *Plautus*, *comedere ſermones*. And it may be they might be made ſometimes to eat their words indeed, if they parted with ſo much as by all mens report they did. For they were ſo λογοποιοὶ (as the Theopr. Character terms them) ſo imployed ἐν τῇ σπείρειν τοὺς λόγους, *in diſſeminandis & ſpargendis rumoribus*; and were ſo much given to ſpend their time in nothing elſe, but either *to hear or tell ſome new thing*, * that I wonder with what face, they could call St *Paul.* Σπερμολόγον. Though I know ſome do rather chuſe to fetch the word from λέγειν *to gather*, as the Scholiaſt on *Ariſtoph.* interprets τοὺς Σπερμολόγους to be τοὺς περὶ τὰ ἐμπόρια καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας καὶ τὰ ἐκ φορτίων διαπίπτοντα ἀναλεγομένους, *ſuch as watch for looſe things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up.* The places where they met and diſcourſed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for the better ſort: or Trades mens ſhops for the meaner; like the Roman *Taberne*; *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos.* Their meetings in this kind, but eſpecially thoſe in the ſhops and places themſelves, and the conſabulations therein, they called λέσχαι, ματραῖαι λέσχαι ſaith *Euripides.* And yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durſt call the convention indicted by the King, by the name of λέσχη too. Now thoſe ſhops were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb Κυπριακὴ λαλιὰ uſed by *Polybius* i.e. *Barbers talke*, (as we ſay) *Lye like a tooth drawer.* But eſpecially Smiths, and ſuch as made uſe of a Fire; being free for any that would warme themſelves, and without any doores, as the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words in *Heſiod.* l. 2. Concerning χαλκῆες θῶκον &c. Τὸ παλαιὸν (ſaith he) τὰ χαλκεῖα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργαστήρια τὰ τοῦς ἔχοντα θύραν, ἃ καὶ λέσχας ἐκάλουν. And to this belongs that of *Homer.*

Οὐδέ σε θέλεις αὖθι χαλκῆον ἐς δόμον ἐλθὼν
Il. Θ. & Σ. Ἡφαίστῳ λέσχην.

The diſcourſe was for the moſt part *de Lanâ Caprinâ* (as they called it) or *de Gerris Siculis*, childiſh and idle, well beſitting

* Act. 17. 21.

ting ſuch *Geruli ſiguli*, as moſt of them were. But the Philoſophers that met in the λέσχαι, which *Hierocles* ſpeaks of, had better diſcourſe. Theſe places were conſecrated to the honour of *Apollo*, who is therefore ſaid to have the name of Λεσχηνεύς (ſo ſaith *Suidas*; but it ſhould be rather Λεσχηνόευς, ſaies *Meurſius*) the reaſon was, becauſe ſuch meetings were, or ſhould be in the day time: and ſometimes in the *Sun*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a ſet meale amongſt *themſelves*, was anciently but once a day, at ſupper (as it was with the Romans) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* in ſeveral places) it is not eaſie to determine. Some ſay there were four meales a day, *viz.* 1. Ἀκράτισμα or διανυκτέρευμα, the *Breakfaſt*. 2. Ἄριστον the *Dinner*. 3. δεῖπνον, the *Beaver*. 4. δόρπον, the *Supper*. Juſt ſo many *Athenæus* has but in this order, *viz.* 1. Ἀκρατίσμα. 2. δεῖπνον. 3. Ἐσπέρτια, or (*Veſperna*) 4. δόρπον. Others make but theſe three. 1. Ἄριστον. 2. δεῖπνον, 3. δόρπον. You ſee that δόρπον is the laſt meal ſtill, and ſo it is in *Ariſtophanes*, who after δορπηδὸς *ſupper time*, makes it to be preſently *Bed-time*. To any of theſe meales if they came too late they called it ἐπιδειπνίδιον, or παρόψιον. Which they need not fear, if they had a Bell to call them, as *Plutarch* ſaies they had in the Fiſh market, and therefore terms thoſe, whoſe bellies had no eares, but for the *Bell*, κώδωνος ὀξέως ἀκούοντες. In Veſp. Sym. of. c. 4.

CAP. II.

De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.

THeir merriment with *others*, was when they kept a feaſt. And thus to ſpend their mony, was eſpicially called ἀναλίσκειν, and δαπανᾶν: the merriment it ſelfe, by the name of ἑορτή. Which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* miniſtring to the Gods at a feaſt; and from whence κύλιξ came to be uſed for a little cup to drink healthes out of. Now a feaſt was of three *b* kinds, 1. Ἔρανος, 2. Γάμος, 3. Εἰλαπίνη. Ἔρανος, or therwiſe called *c* συμβολὴ ἀπὸ κοινῆς συμβολῆς, ἤγουν ἡ καταβολὴ ἡ δαπάνης

a Schol. in Ariſoph. Veſp.
b Euſtathius in Hom.
c Ariſtoph. & Schol.

δαπάνης συλλέγοντας, was when they joyned or clubbed for it, and every one brought his *Symbolum*, his *part*, or elſe lay in his *Symbolum*, his *pawn*, or his *earneſt* with the maſter of the feaſt. The earneſt was commonly a ring, as *Terence* ſaies, *dati annuli, loci, temporis conſtitutum*. And ſometimes any other thing: Which he that laid out the money for the feaſt, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to ſell or do what he would with it. The reaſon why it was not ſo coſtly, and thoſe that were at it, did eat ſo ſparingly, ὁ. ἀν ἴδ. ἢ ἰδί ἑκάστου ἔφερον, was becauſe every one brought his own provender with him, and from thence they were called αὐτόδαπτοι, *Sodales*: Sometimes they call ſuch a feaſting κατάβολον, from *joyning*, as we ſay, or *clubbing*, or *caſting* every one his *lot* into one purſe, καὶ τοῦτο κατάβολα, ὅταν κοινῶς δίδοντες δαπανῶμεν συμποσιάζωμεν, ſaies *Tzetes* upon *Heſiod*. And ſo likewiſe ſometimes ἀπὸ σπορᾶς καὶ διάσπορον, from σπείρειν, becauſe the charges came *ſcattered*, or *ſown* by ſeveral hands, which is reſembled very well by the *Sportula* inſtituted by *Nero*. Laſtly ὁ θίασος (they ſay) has been uſed for the ſame, θιασῶται for the company.

c 99 ibid.

e Feſtus.

f L. 2.

Athen. l. 8.

Of this way of Feaſting you have a briefe and large commendation in *Heſiod*.

Μηδ' ἁλυξείνῃ δαιτὸς ἐυσσμβλοσι ἔῃσι,
Ἐν κοινῇ πλείσῃ· ἡ χάρις, ἢν δαπάνη τ' ὀκίγίσῃ.

Be not averſe from common feaſts; for there.
The charge the leaſt is, and the moſt the cheer.

Sometimes you ſhould have a covetous fellow make his γάμος his very *wedding dinner*, in the manner of an ἔρανος: and every one that comes muſt bring his part with him, and be ἀκόντιστος (as *Plutarch* calls the Souldier *that goes a warfare at his own coſt*.) This kind of feaſting (I think) may very well be named αὐτουργία, for *that* is either when there is meat of *all ſorts*, or when it is brought to *every man*, or when they ſit *higly pigly*, and every one takes where he likes. Ἐπαμὴν (for of γάμος we have ſpoken already) uſed to be a litt'e more coſtly πολυτελὴς. It was thus called either 1. From λάπτειν the *lapping and tipling* in it, or 2. From their gathering together,

a In Craſſ.

b Schol. in. Ariſtoph. Pace.

gether, or sitting in *companies*; ὅτε χορὶ εἵλαι, ὁμοῦ εἱλεύοντο ὄντων, or 3. From εἵλαι, the *vertigines* or *rounds* used in dances * ὑπὸ τῶν εἱλῶν, The company at such a feast were called εἱλαπιναστάι. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poor Women were left by themselves alone in the γυναικωνίτιδες, unless it were to accompany some of their very near friends: according to that of *Cornelius Nepos*, in the beginning of his Book: *Nam neque in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorũ, neque sedet nisi in interiore parte ædium, quæ gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinquà cognatione conjunctus.* The usual customes in feasting were these. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certain officers appointed for the purpose to discommon them. And to them the Cooks were to repair, to be examined concerning the same. Besides those Officers, there was an οἰνόπτης too, to see how oft, and how much every one drank. And if it appeared that a man was any way ἄκρατος or intemperate, he was to be punish'd by the *Areopagus*. Which perhaps gave occasion to the Drunken unthrifts of those times to call the Greeks μικροσιτοφύλακας and συλλυχνῶντας, as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed such bite-figges, and cummin-cutters, as they make them, how came it to pass that *Cookery* was so much in request among them; (σμικρὸν γὰρ ἡ μαγειρικὴ, it is an honourable profession saies *Athenæus*) or that the skill in Physick, Astronomy, and Geometry, was thought so requisite L. 4. to that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook should be one of the chief officers at a Sacrifice, as they say he was? the last indeed, was very convenient, since a Sacrifice and a feast so well agreed that commonly either the latter followed the former, or instead of invitations, they sent their friends a peice of the victime. ——καὶ τὰ μὲν θύσας

Ταῖς Νύμφαις, Μόρσιμι καλὸν κρέας αὐτίκα πέμψον.

——as soon as you

To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to *Morsus* too.

CAP. III.

De more ſalutandi, Sympoſiarcho, Coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de menſis.

WHen the gueſts were come, the manner of ſalutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a *pot*, and kiſſe them, and ſuch a kiſſe as this they called χύτρα *a pot*. The faſhion of kiſſing the lips was but of latter daies, and *oſculum* may be *oſculum* upon any thing ſo it be from the *mouth*. Anciently they uſed to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and ſometimes upon the head, or the ſhoulder, or the neck like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher than the hand, with an imbracing of the body, as *Xuthus* deſired to do to *Ion*,

Pollux, l. 9. c. 24

Eur. Ion. v. 518

δὸς χερὸς φίλημά μοι σὺς, σῶμά σ' ἀμφὶ πτύχας.

Embracing was the moſt uſuall ſalutation. Inſomuch that (if you will believe the *Scholy) the word ἀσπάσασθαι uſed to ſignifie to *Salute*, does properly ſignifie to *embrace*, as being derived (ſaies he) ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγκῶν ἀσπάσασθαι εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἢ ἕτερον. The compellation to ſuch as they reſpected was uſually πῶπο, *vir honeſte, worthy Sir*, rather than Κύριε, *Domine*, or *Maſter*.

*On Ariſtoph. Plut.

Eurip. in ſuppl.

——ὃ: ἐυτυχήσει, τίμιε χρεία θ',

Till the meat came up, the Gueſts ſpent their time, in obſerving and commending the conveniencies of the houſe, and the houſhold ſtuffe, and the like, according to *his* inſtructions in a *Ariſtophanes*.

a Veſp.

Επειτ' ἐπαίνεσόν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων

Οἰκῶν θέασαι ——

The δειπνοκλήτωρ, the Maſter of the houſe, ſhall I ſay, or the Maſter of the Feaſt? or rather the *founder* of the feaſt; (for Συμποσίαρχος the Maſter, was many times no more than a Maſter-ſteward, or ᵇὀψοποιὸς ἐπιμελητὴς the Caterer choſen by a company at a Collation) preſently had his γραμματίδιον brought him in by the Cook, i. e. a *note* containing the ſeveral ſorts of diſhes which they were to expect. Now in ſome

ᵇ Pollux, l. 2. c. 1.

feaſts,

feasts, to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman *Mediperator*, and the fashion yet in use in *Italy*, and among us on *Twelf-day*) they threw lots who should be βασιλεὺς *King*. and he to whose lot it fell, was to have the whole command of all, for matter of drinking, or ceremonies, without any restraint. Which sometimes prov'd too *tyrannical*, as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow πίνειν ἢ κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἢ κατὰ προσώπου *to take the drink in his mouth, or have it flung in his face.* G. 8.

All this while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of Frankincense and Myrrhe upon the hearth. Either that the sense of smelling too, might have a *taste* of the mirth, εὐωδίαν ἑστίαν for [c] *smell feast*) or else to stop the mouths, and the *angry noses* of the gods to whom, before they eat any thing themselves, they used to offer a taste of the best of every dish. But how they did it I know not, unless they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did.

[c] Athenæus. DN

—ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε δυλὰς.

The Guests before they sate down, used to crown their heads with Garlands, made for the most part of Myrtle, and so I remember the bold guest in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drink, ——στέφει δ' ὑμεναίοις κλάδοις, *bound* his head with *Mirtle-boughs* to *secure* it from aking, and the Romans it seems agree with them herein, for saies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry.

κατακλώντας τὸ κεφάλιον, saies the Scholiast upon Aristophanes in Av.

Nunc decet aut viridi caput impedire myrto.

The use of these Garlands was to coole the head, and so to restraine the heat of the Wine. Neither did they *crown* their heads onely, but *anoint* them too, as if he had been going to *wrestle*, with the strength of the liquor: for so saies *he in Vespis*

—γυμνασικὸς
Τυρὸν χυλασὶν σιὼν ὸν.

Ovid and the Romans knew of this too it seems.

—*habent unctæ mollia serta comæ.*

Using it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether, or to open the pores, and let them out as soon as they came. For the same end was it, that the

herb *crambe* was so much used in their feasts; as it was also among the Ægyptians; and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy said to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, so great, that it will not endure to grow near it: which antipathy (say they) has been in it, ever since *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting down all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkenesse, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twiggs, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare presently sprung the *crambe*, so called *quasi* Κορύμβαν, from Κόρη, or *Pupilla* the *Apples*, or the *Babies* (as we say) in the eyes, to which it is thought to be hurtfull.

* Sch. On Aristoph. in Equit. Act. 1. sc. 3.

Besides anointing, there was washing too, both before and after meat: *that* before, had a peculiar name of ὕδωρ χεῖρ χεῖρι. the other they call ἀπονίζασθαι.

Their *posture* at eating was lying upon κλῖναι beds (imitated by the Roman *lecti*) with a ῥῖπος a *mat*[a] close by, which had bed cloathes and all to sleep upon. Those κλῖναι were usually covered with skinnes: according to that in the [b] Poet of one that lay sporting upon a full belly.

a Pol. l. 6. c. 2.

Ῥάγχει μαθὼν ἐν πατρὸς Σάτυρος δορᾷ.

b Aristoph. in Equit.

And sometimes with Tapistry, for the better sort: for with such *Achilles* his Embassadors are entertained in [c] *Homer*,

——τάπησί τε πορφυρέοισι.

c Ill. 9.

The manner of lying was on their sides, and leaning upon their elbowes: and therefore *Silenus*, in *Euripides*, bids *Cyclops* (when they sate at meat upon the ground) θὲς ἡδέως τὸν ἀγκῶνα εὐρώδεως, *to place his elbow handsomely*. They rested their feet upon a πρόσκυνι, or a *foot-stole*: such a one as *Juno* would bestow upon *Somnus* for the same use.

Τῷ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαρὴς πόδας ἀλαπάζων.

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Vespæ*, asking how he should sit, was bid κάτω ἐκτείνειν, to *stretch out his knees*. The table was ordinary *Tripus*. Unlesse the man were of a higher *stomach* than he that said, *Sit mihi mensa tripes*: for then it might be of another fashion. But usually it was made with three

three legs, and an ἐπίθημα upon it, called τρυφῶς (in imitation of the *Tripus* at *Delphos*) to be taken off, and set on, as they had occasion. Of what fashion soever it was, they used to reverence it with a great deal of religion: so as not to have any uncivil or prophane or immodest discourse, as long as they sate at it. For why (saies *Synesius*) it *is holy* and *consecrated* to *Jupiter* ὁσιος, and ξένιος. Which gave occasion to that expression of *Demosthenes* Πῶς δ' ἀλόγως τὰ τραπέζια οὐ καθαρὰ; And to *Juvenal's reverentia mensæ*. The first that ever dared to profane the *table*, were the Women that killed *Terens* his son, and served him up in the dish.

Ep. 57.

d Π. παρ. ὀφ.

Sat. 2.

Paus. in Phoch.

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THE Greeks (they say) in ancient times, as well as other people; were contented with Masts and Acornes: for their bread at least if not for their Meat. And there were βαλανίσται, people imployed of purpose to gather them. There was no *Cereale solum*, in those dayes, no fear of *mensas consumimus*. 'Twas enough for the luxury of *later* dayes, to make *puniceas mensas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In allusion to the use of this food * A. *Gellius* saies that the Romans made their *civica corona* of *Oaken* boughs, *quoniam cibus victusq; antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit. In remembrance of their oaken diet.* After mast, they lookt lower and found better food in barly. For that kind of corn was the [a] first in use. Afterward, when fine Wheat, and teeth came up, it was made a punishment to use it, as [b] *Suetonius* saies, *decimatas hordeo pavit.* Their way of using corne at *first*, before that Milles came up (οἰμός, said to be invented by *Mylas*) was to rost it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth: and then *pinsere* to *beat* it, and *knead* it into hard lumps or *loaves*. Those that did this, the Romans called *pinsores*, wch afterwards came to *pistores*, *bakers*. We read of קלי *parched stuffe* among the Israelites too, even there where we read of flower, & so it was not

Virg. Æn.

L. 5. c. 6.

a Artemidor. l. 1. c. 71.

b In Aug. c. 24.

Serv. ad Æn. 1.

a Sam. c. 17. v. 28.

for

for need that they used it. In time it came to varieties: and I also might say a great deale concerning them, as likewise of their usual dishes at feasts, both fish and flesh. But you may have enough in *Athenæus* with little paines and less profit. Only I desire to observe one thing, that of all the parts of a beast, the braine might by no meanes be seen upon a table. For they loathed to eat it, as much as a *Pythagorean* would to eat a *bean*: and thought, that none but he that had lost his senses, would offer to devour that, from which all the *senses* had their *life*. Nay ἐγκέφαλον the *brain* might not be in their mouths to *speak* it, as well as to eate it. And therefore *Sophocles*, when he speaks of *Lychas* his throwing from the rock into the sea, and dashing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the brain *white marrow of his head*.

In Trachin.

Κόμης ϑ' ἁλὸς μυελὸν ἐκχέαντα μίσυ
Κρατὸς—

Hecuba in *Euripides* speaking of *Astyanax* his throwing down from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the same manner, calling it ὀστέων μεγίστων τόρον, adding withall ἵν' αἰσχρὰ μὴ λέγω *with reverence be it spoken.*

But as for the Entrals, ἀλλᾶντες, no dish so common as that, insomuch that you should have some covetous fellowes make a feast of nothing else. Such a feast they called more peculiarly ἆλσος, or μαγειρικὸν τραπέζιον. The meat was served up in dishes of wood, or brasse (for the better sort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drink*, which they had at feasts during meale time, was usually wine mingled with water to allay the strength of it. And this mixture they say was the invention of *Amphyction* (him whom they report to have first instituted the meeting of the seven Cities called *Concilium Amphictionicum*) but I have another story for you from * *Athenæus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Physician, and it is this. When *Bacchus* first brought his Wines from the *Red sea* into *Greece*, the people came presently flocking to the Sea side, and fell so immoderately to the liquor, that some became dead drunk,

* L. 15.

and

and ſome raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a ſudden tempeſtuous ſhowre, when they returned again, found ſome of the raine *mingled* with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, σφοδρῶς ἐμέθυον ἔχον ἐκ λαυτῶν, notwithſtanding found no ſuch effects as the former did, but continued ſober. This (they ſay) is the perſon that at the firſt bringing in of the κεκραμένον, or *mixed wine* to the table, they uſed to remember Διὶ Σωτῆρι, *Jupiter* the founder of the rain, and the *mixture*. To which they added the *health* called Διὸς ὀλυμπίου, if the feaſt were a *victors* feaſt; and ἐπὶ γάμου, if it were a Wedding; altering the name of the health, according to the occaſion of the feaſt. And yet *Sophocles* ſeems to make the thrid round to be to *Jupiter Servator*

Διὶ σωτῆρι
Σπονδὴν τρίτην κρατῆρος.

Preſently after meale came in ἄκρατον the Wine *in puris naturalibus*, whereof (it may be) πρόπομα, *promulſis*, or *guſtatio*, the *firſt taſt* before they went to eating uſed to be. The great *Crater* being filled, the *Sympoſiarch* began a health, either to the *good Genius* (to whom they meant to indulge) or to the *goodly* god that invented the liquor. This health is called *Poculum* not *Charitatis*, but ἀγαθῆ δαίμονος: and ſo to drink it ἐπιπίνειν ἀγαθῆ δαίμονος, making it are ligious buſineſs, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink-offering, as he ſays Σπονδὴν λαβὼν, καὶ σπείσων ἀγαθῆ δαίμονι. And many times they prayed too, crying out ὦ δαίμων ἀγαθέ. Some ſay, this health was at the beginning of the feaſt. But they did but ſip at it, and therefore *Heſychius* interprets ἀγαθοδαιμονίσαι for ὀλιγοπιήσαι, *little drinkers*. The laſt health of all, which they drank juſt as they went to bed was to *Mercury*, as to the god of ſleeping and dreames

Ἀργειφόντῃ
Οἱ πυμάτῳ κοιμίσκεσθον.

for that was the reaſon (ſaies *Athenæus*) διὰ τὸ Ἑρμῆν ὕπνου θεὸν εἶναι. Yet ſome ſay it was Διὸς τελείου. Ἀσκὸς, the bottle or veſſel out of which they filled the Wine, was uſually made of the skinne of a Boare. And therefore in *Lyſiſtrate* (*Ariſtophanis*) it is called by the name of κάπρος, and the Wine αἷμα

Ariſtoph in Eq.

* In Veſp:

 blood,

blood, and the powring out σφάγια *slaughter*, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they called it φιλοτήσιον κύλικα, or φιλοφρόνως *a cup of good friendship*: and such kind of expressions ἀξιώσεις, *takings, or pledgings*: according to that

——χρυσοῦς δ' ἀπέκοσε
δεξιὸν χεῖρ' ἀλλήλοις——

And thus if a great man kept the feast, when he drank to his favourite, he gave him the cup to keep. But if he drank a health to one whom he loved (ἐρωμένῳ or φίλῳ his friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himself, and bestowed the rest upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would sit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himself waking till morning, had a πυραμοῦς, a cake made of flower and hony for his labour, just as the women use to have in in *Thesmophoria*. In such mad fits as these, they were wont to have γρῖφοι riddles proposed: which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depart unlesse he had leave, (perhaps it was unlesse he took his leave) of the Master of the feast. And here I might easily speak enough of their κῶμαθοι, but I think a *little* is sufficient, and *that* I have done already.

Now the cups wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Buls hornes, ὡς πᾶσι κέρασι, saies the Scholiast upon *Nicander*, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ κεράσαι. Insomuch that the word κεράσαι, to fill drink, seemed to be derived from κέρατα these *hornes*, *Scilicet* Hence it was that they used to picture *Bacchus* with *Bulls hornes*. Nay the *Argivi* made his picture *all* Bull; which occasioned some to call him down right by the name of *Taurus* a Bull. And the reason of those phancies was (saies the Scholiast) διὰ τὸ ταυρωπὸν εἶδος πίνειν, τουτέστι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου ἡδονῶν for the strange (saies he) or rather the *Bull wood* carriage of those that use his Liquor. But the best is, *dat Deus immiti cornua curta bovi*. Afterward they grew weary of hornes, and came to their cannes, which they seem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his sake too no question, to whom the wood belongs)

Eurip. Alc. v. 756. Ποτῆρας δ' ἐν χεροῖν κισσοῦ λαβών

CAP.

CAP. V.

De iis quæ à diſcumbentibus fieri ſolebant.

FOr their behaviour at a table, ſpitting and coughing, and ſpeaking loud, was counted uncivil in any, but a Gentleman (as we ſay in the Univerſity, that nothing is freſh in a Senior) and to him it was a glory ἂν μακρὰ πτύειν ſaies *Stobæus*, to *ſpit ſtoutly*, or as *Quintilian* calls it, *clarè excreare*, as it is among us for great men to ſit and eat careleſly. But *paring of nailes* was ſuch a *forbid* thing, that no gentility could bear it out *Heſiod* (as tis thought) long ſince *abominated* the *incivility*, or what ſhall I call it, to hit his meaning.

Μηδ' ἀπὸ πυτόζοιο δάϊν ἐὺ δαιτὶ δαλεῖν
Λῶον ἀπὸ χλωρῆ τάμνειν αἰζηὸν σιδήρῳ.

Nor from the *five-branch'd green* do with a knife
At feaſting cut the *wither'd* for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his παῖς, or his *Pedes*, to whom they uſed to deliver τὰ ὑποφορητὰ, choice bits, or ſuch dainties as they liſted beſt, to keep, or to carry home with them: but I muſt confeſſe it was counted ſomewhat *baſe*: and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very *high* feaſt indeed, and *open* houſe. Thoſe boyes or ſervants were commonly *Black-moores*, after the faſhion of the Romans,

—tibi pocula curſor
Getulus dabit, aut nigri manus oſſea Mauri.

Your μοῖραι *portions*, which we read of, were another thing, as a piece of the Victime at a Sactifice, or a part of the choiceſt diſhes at a feaſt, ſent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were abſent. For ſuch *Plutarch* reports to have been ſent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he ſacrificed at *Corinth*: and *Ariſtophanes* (in his *Acarnanes*) By the Bride at a Wedding.

Επιμελὴς σὺ νυμφίῳ γαμετὴ κρέα
Ἐκ τῶν γάμων

And indeed not onely the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembring their friends in this kind: for the Jewes both at Sacrifices (as *Elkanah* did to his Wife,) and also at feasts (as those were bid to do by *a Nehemiah*) used to send מנות *portions to them, for whom nothing was prepared.* When they had greased their fingers, they would take a piece of soft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the doggs, and from thence came the proverb *tanquam canis vivens è magdaliâ*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*, for so they called such a piece of bread from ἀπομάσσειν *to wipe*; such a thing as their Cooks σμῆγμα or χειρόμακτρον, a piece of *course bread*, which they had for the same use.

b or ἐπαύλια.

The *desert* consisted of *nuts* and *fruit*, and all sorts of *junkets*: they called this service by the several names of ᵇ ἔπαυλα, τραγήματα, ἐπτορίσματα, ἐπιτραπεζώματα, ἐπιδόρπια, μετεπιδόρπια, *Epidorpia mensæ.* And now to *crown* all with dauncing and musick, which *Homer* calls *c* ἐνιαύσια δῶρα θεῶν, (usually accompanied with ἀοιδάς, *merry songs*, and *tales* (because they themselves spent most time in *practising* it, I shall be bold to spend a little the more in relating it.

c Coronæ Convivii.

CAP. VI.

De cantu Convivali, & Scoliis.

ALthough *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras* speake against the use of Musick at a *Feast*: and *Euripides* say, it were better used at a *Funeral*, to make the Mourners merry: yet you shall find *Xenophon* himself (in himself) *c* *mon ending*, and *Phemius* (in *Homer*) *practising* the same. Now the custome was when they came to dancing and the Musick; whereas at *Meal-time* lesse cups would serve) *then* to have greater, and a *fresh* bowle (κρατῆρες) to begin with, for such a one they had at every *change*, if they observed that fashion we read of in *Euripides.*

Odyss. 1.

End

Επὶ δ' εἰς' αὐλὸς ἦκεν ἐς κρατῆρά τι
Καινὸν, γέρων ἐλέξεν, ἀρχαΐζειν χρεὼν
Οὕτως· διὰ μιᾶς, μεγαλαύχως εὐτρόπως.

The ſong moſt common among them was *Harmodius*: So called, (juſt as *Hymenæus* is from a man of the ſame name, and as we call *our* ſongs *Chloris* and the like) becauſe it was ſung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicidæ* that put an end to the tyranny of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, by putting *Hypparchus* to death: and of whom it is reported that the ſtrumpet *Leæna* (as *beaſtly* a name as *Lupa*) ſo faithfully loved their bodies, that when ſhe was racke by the Tyrant, to diſcover their conſpiracies, ſhe bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and ſpit it in his face. The beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, Φίλτατε Ἁρμόδιε, οὔ τί που τέθνηκας, &c. You have mention of it in *Ariſtophanes* his *Acharnenſes*, and his *Veſpæ*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*, or a ſong to the praiſe of *Admetus*, (for moſt of *their* ſongs, as well as thoſe of the *Romans*, tended to the praiſe of one famous Worthy or other, (It began thus, Ἀδμήτου λόγον τῶ ἐς τὰς μαθὼν, τοὺ ἀγαθὰς τίλες, τοὺ δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχ. &c. where you may obſerve the oppoſing ἀγαθὸς to δειλὸς. For ſo you ſhall find κακὸς, commonly for a Coward in Heathen writers, who reckoned *virtutem* (as they called it) *valour*, and *fortitude*, the onely *virtue* worthy the name. Beſides theſe two which I have named, you ſhall find a great many more ſuch in Authors, under the name of Σκόλια. I ſhall only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, againſt *riches*.

Ὦφελες ὦ τυφλὸ Πλοῦτε
Μήτ' ἐν γῇ, μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ, μήτ', εἰ πανσίλυ-
Φανὲς ἄλσος.
Ἀλλὰ πάρτερόν τι ναίειν κ' Ἀχέροντα
Διὰ ζῆν δ' πάντ' ἐν' ἀνθρώποις κακά.

Vid. Schol. in Ariſtoph. Ran.

Thoſe kind of ſongs which they called Σκόλια, were firſt invented by one *Terpander*. They were ſo called either firſt (Διὰ τὸ ἄδεσθαι τοὺ κλινῶν Σκολιῶν) (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ranæ*.) from the *crooked* placing of the beds, and the lying of the guests

*Plutarch. de muſ.

gueſts upon them. Or elſe 2. (as the Scholy ſaies upon the ſame Poet in *Veſpis*) from the *flexuous* diſorderly manner in the ſinging. For there were in uſe among the Greeks (ſaies * *Dicæarchus* περὶ μουσικῶν Ἀγώνων) three wayes of ſinging ſongs at ſuch meetings, the firſt ἀπὸ πάντων, by all together, the 2. καθ' ἕνα, by one after another in order as they ſate, the 3. one after another, but ἐναλλὰξ, not in order, and ἀπὸ ἀναστατῶν τινων, either by ſuch as had beſt skill, or by ſuch as he that ſung laſt, ſhould pleaſe to chooſe. I ſay to chooſe, for in ſinging a *Scholium*, as tis properly uſed, this was the cuſtome: He that *Scholied* firſt took him a Myrtle rod, called αἴσυχον from ἄνω and ἔχειν, & holding it in his hand like a *thyrſus* (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*,) begun in any place of *Simonides*, or *Steſichorus*, or *Æſchylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleaſed. The verſes which they ſung, they called by the name of ῥαψῳδία, or ῥαβδῳδία, or στιχῳδία. from the στίχοι, or the rods, as being *aptæ virgæ*, in the words of *Apuleius*. When he had done, he delivered his bough to whom he thought fit: and he to whom the bough was delivered, was to go on where the other left off: and thus it went round till all had done. And then he that was judged by the company to come off beſt, and have *capt* the reſt, had his ψῳδεῖον (as they called it) *i. e.* a *cup*, or ſome ſuch thing for his reward. Unleſſe they ſung ſome of *Homers* verſes, for then both the bough was *Lawrel*, and the prize a *Lamb*, from whence they were called ἀρνῳδοί, as well as *Homeriſtæ*. Others ſay it was the cuſtome preſently after the taking away, to have a harp to go from one to another, and every one as he was the beſt able, or as his mind gave him, to ſing to the Harp, with a bough in his hand beſides. A third reaſon of the name is given by *Orus* (a Grammarian:) *viz.* becauſe the *eye*, and the *underſtanding* of thoſe that ſung, were by over ſtrong drink become σκολιοί, διεστραμμένοι, *diſtorted*, as they are in Mad men (ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὀρθῶν, & ὀρθὴς ἔρρει, right eyes and a right mind, are put together in the *Poet*.) 4. The ſong was called σκόλιον, (ſaies the [b] *Scholiaſt*) by the Figure *Antiphraſis*, becauſe it was leaſt difficult of any, and μά-

Euſta. h. Il. 1.

* Schol. in Ran.

* Ariſtoph. in Nub

a Soph. in Oed. Tyr.

b In Ranis.

λ

λίγ' ὀλιγόστιχον, *consisting but of a few staves.* But this etymology in another place of the same book is utterly disliked, τὸ δὲ Νόσημα ἐπὶ τὰ εὐφημότερα μεταλαμβάνειν, καὶ μὴ τἀνάπαλιν, *because that figure Antiphrasis, is always by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name.* *Origen* (they say) wrote a Poem, wherein he briefly compriz-ed all such things, as seemed to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of *Scolia.* [c] *Pericles* is said to have made his Lawes, in the manner of *Scolies.* I think not for any obscurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making. [c] Arist. in Ran.

Τὸ Σκόλιον, is not opposed (whatever it may seem to be) to that which they call τὸ ὄρθιον μέλος (which might be sung by one alone, whereas the *Scolies* could not) so called, not because it was sung *right* along and in order; but either because the persons sung ὀρθιστί, that is, (as *Suidas* expounds it) *altâ & erectâ voce, with a long blast,* (like *the trumpet in Judges* c 7. 5.) or because it was sung κατὰ νόμον ὄρθιον, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* saies *Arion* plaid after that way upon the ship, and *Eustathius* and *Suidas* say that *Timotheus* playing after that manner to *Alexander*, ποιεῖ τὸν Ἀρεα θυμὸν &c. *So moved his spirits, that he leapt immediatly to his arms and took them up to fight.* Instead of *Scolies*, sometimes you should have whole *Comedies* acted, and then none so soon as *Menanders.*

But amidst all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableness and uncertainty of their conditions (for this they say was the use they made of them) they had their πόματα, *oscilla*, or *osficula*, like those which they use at *Rome* at the feast *Sigillaria*, or such as [d] *Augustus* is said to have plaid with (*talis aut ossiculis ludebat cum pueris*) things so artificially made with joynts and pins, that in so many throwes they would yield you a thousand shapes, or *mouthes*, or *faces.* *Petronius* having at a certain feast thrown those things on the table, presently cryed out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, *viz.* to be merry therefore while he might. [d] Suet.

Heu, heu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est!
Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet orcus.

Ergo,

Ergo vivamus dum licet ẽſſe bene.

And juſt ſo the Ægyptians us'd at feaſts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin: for he that brought him in, bid every one εἰνε ϗ πίρτ ἔσῃ γὲ ἀποθανὼν πεῖ, *to eat and drink, for to morrow he ſhould die.* Herod. l. 2.

CAP. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

A *Stranger*, whether you take it for a *Gueſt* or for an *Alien*, ſo it were not a *God*, was alwaies had in ſo religious eſteem at *Athens*, ὡς ἀγάλμα ϗ σέβας ἦν ἰδεῖν ἄνθρ, ὃς ἂν κακῶς ἢ ξένον, *that* (as the *Scholie* ſaith upon [a] *Euripides*) *if any one wronged a ſtranger*, he *was lookt upon as a profane curſed fellow*: according to the Poet himſelfe in another * place. a In Helen. * In Taur. v 468

——Let go the ſtrangers hands,
Which being ſacred may not be in bands.

And good reaſon, for — φῶτες γὰ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες Ξένοι — all ſtrangers have *Jupiters* own Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* ſo *malus*, as ξενοκτονία. Now this eſteem they had; Firſt in obedience to the Lawes of Ζεὺς ξένιος, or ἱκέσιος, you may call him *Jupiter hoſpes*: for [b] *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoſis* ſpeaks of *Jovis hoſpitis ara*, an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhoſpitall people, for *their brutiſh inhumanity*, are ſaid to have been turn'd into *Ceraſta's*, bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius*, as much as he was for the *ſtrangers*, was notwithſtanding better *known* and honoured than any of the *Jupiters* beſides, according to that of *Plutarch*, ξενίου Διὸς πολλαὶ ϗ μεγάλαι, as if he had cared more for them than other people b L. 10. Fab 6.

Jupiter, hoſpitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur. Virg. Æn. 1.

I remember indeed once to ſhew how wel he was pleaſed with that virtue of hoſpitality, being in his travels in *Phrygia* with *Mercury*, lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body elſe would receive him, in requital thereof, he preſerved the houſe from the Earth quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly.

2ly, In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expresly commanded them μὴ ξένους μὲ ἀδικεῖν, *not to wrong a ſtranger*, And this made *Ariſtippus*, upon *Socrates* his information, preſently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. Nay ſaies *Tully* *Execrationibus publicis ſancitum eſt &c.* (ſpeaking of refuſall to ſhew a ſtranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of *publique execrations*. Xenoph. l. 3. Απομν. L. de Offic.

If a *ſtranger* had received any wrong (becauſe they might not be ſo *familiar* as to do it themſelves) there were προξένοι, allowed of purpoſe to plead for them, as well as πρόξενοι to entertain them. Unleſſe you will ſay that theſe laſt officers were not for ξένοι that is *hoſpites*, ſuch as tarried a while and away; but for ξένοι that is οἰκοῦντες, *inquilini*, ſuch as ſet up their habitation in the place where they come. For thoſe were made to pay their μετοίκιον, an yearly rent to the City, the men twelve, and the * Women ſix Drachmes, which if they did not pay they ſold them, and put them into the ſhips for Gally ſlaves, as not reckoning them *clean* corne, and true Citizens, any more than * *Ariſtotle*; but onely (in the words of *Ariſtophanes*) ἄλυρα τῆς πόλεως, *the outcaſts and chaffe*, and no more. Even the *Grecians* themſelves (as *evill beaſts* as they were) ſeem to have had *humanity* enough in this reſpect. Otherwiſe what meant their ξενικὴ τράπεζα, two diſtinct Tables, and a Chamber kept a purpoſe for ſtrangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, ſo much valued the hoſpitality ſhewed by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to ſpare his houſe alone. * Iſæus contr. Elpagor. * L. 3. Polit. Athenæus.

I muſt confeſſe indeed the *Lacedemonians* bear but ill for their ξενηλασία, and *Lycurgus* his Law againſt admittance of ſtrangers, but upon certain daies, and their dealing deceitfully with them then too. Which made the Poet (even in *pace*) brand them with the name of διπρωτόξενοι. Nay it is ſaid how that they never made any αὐτοξενίαν, (as they called it) *free of their City*, but onely two. *viz. Tiſamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But I ſtill hope, their ξένοι *ſtrangers*, were all one with οἱ βάρβαροι *Barbarians*, for whom the word is often uſed, ſaies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiaſt upoon *Homer*. For elſe

certainly *Plato* would never have given such commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the *nature* of (as we usually take it) *policy*, as it is inconsistent with the *name* of πολιτικὴ, to care most for ones *private* good.

CAP. VII.

De Hospitibus excipiendis.

IF the *Athenians* were so kind τοῖς ξένοις, to *every stranger*, properly so called, what were they (think you) τοῖς ἰδιοξένοις, to their *own strangers* (as we use to call it) or to their sworn *guests*? Those had their σφραγῖδες, or σύμβολοι, or *tesserã hospitii*, something or other like a ticket, to shew for their quarter when they came: such as *Jason* in courtesy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

Ξένοις τ' πίμπτην σύμβολ' οἱ δεχόμενοί σ' ἴσθι.

So farre were the ξενοδόκοι, those that entertained guests (you may call them ξένοι too, for it is a name for both, like *hospes*, perhaps to shew their near relation) from so much as suspecting a returne of hatred for kindnesse, that it cost *Dio* no lesse than his life. Who though he were forewarned of an intention of *Callippus* his guest to murther him, took no care to avoid him, αἰσχυνθεὶς, *being ashamed* (saies *Plutarch* in his charter *de vitioso pudore*) φυλάττεσθαι οἰκεῖον ὄντα καὶ ξένον to *beware* of one that was his friend and *guest* too (as if *that* were more.)

The manner of entertaining strangers was this. As soon as ever they saw him [a] δεῦρο τὸν ἐπιχώριον τοῦτον, the first care they had, was to have somewhat for him to eate. *Egredientem illico è navi adduxit ad cœnam*, saies [b] *Terence*. When he came to the doore (as some say) they both joyned *fret* on the threshold, and there mutually engaged themselves to be true and trusty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad ostium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium.* And therefore *Hospes* is said to be derived from *hostium*, or *ostium* a *door*, and *pes* a *foot*. When he

[a] Pindar.

[b] In Heaut.

Vetus Diction.

he came in, they called for the *Strangers bottle*, (as he ſaies in *Electra*, ἀγχοῦ γὰρ φίλια ξένοις) and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (ſaies *Athenæus*) ὡς τῷ ξενίαν αὐτῷ πρῶτος, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ δεῖνα μέσην, *as giving him honour, becauſe he was a ſtranger, not becauſe he was this or that particular man.* Now they uſed Wine rather than any other liquor (ſaies the ſame Author) becauſe they took it to be ἀλκῆσιν καὶ ἀφροδισίων, παρὰ θερμαίνων καὶ ψυχὼν ἔτι. *Powerfull to warm the affection too as well as the ſtomach.*

c Eurip. v. 511.

Idem. Ibid.

The next thing they preſented him with, was Salt: intimating their friendſhip muſt be ſeaſoned with good carriage, as it might keep long and ſweet. All the time of his being in the houſe, this reſpect he had. They made their own Daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay and to bring him water in a Baſon, and waſh his feet with their own hands. As may be proved by ſeveral places in *Homer* both obſerved and approved by *Athenæus*, who makes it to be an ancient cuſtome παῖδα Ὁμηρος καὶ τὰς κόρας καὶ τὰς γαμετὰς λούσας τοὺς ξένους, ἀρχαῖον ὂν τῆς ἔθος (ſaith he,) 2. They allotted ξενῶνας, Chambers a part from the reſt, of purpoſe for ſtrangers. Which puts me in mind of *Admetus* in the Poets *Alceſtis*, who when *Hercules* coming to his houſe in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted αἰσχρὸν, ſo *unfit to be ſeen by the ſacred eyes of a ſtranger* (as he there ſaies) was therefore about to be gone again, replyed, *no ſuch need good Hercules, notwithſtanding the mourning in the houſe.*

b L. 1.

d V. 545.

Χωρὶς ξενῶνες εἰσὶν, οἷς σ' ἐποίξομεν. *For we have Chambers on the other ſide of the houſe which wee keep onely for ſtrangers, and you ſhall be there.*

3ly, When they ſate at Meales, they had a table alſo to themſelves, as may be conjectured by that which *Oreſtes* had at his being at e *Athens*.

Eurip. Elect. 4. 849.

ξένιε μονοτράπεζα μοι
Πάρεσχον οἴκων

Laſtly they had τὰς Καρχησίους *places* allowed them at the *ſhewes*, inſtituted by *Sphyromachus*. Therefore to return, reſpect againe to the people of the houſe, as at his coming into the

Country, he ought to do reverence and Sacrifice to the *Genius* of the place, saluting the ground with a kisse.

Cadmus agit grates, peregrinaque oscula terræ
Ovid. Met. l. 3. *Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrosque salutat.*

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to do Divine Service, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς unto *their* gods especially, or the gods of the *place*: as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy*: and as they themselves, if they had been from home at their returne, were to do θεοῖς πατρίοις καὶ ἑστίοις, (as *Hercules* calls them) to the *Penates*, the gods of the *house*. In like manner, at his going out of the Countrey, when he came the borders he kisſed the ground, and so took his leave of the *Genius*: as *Ovid* saies.

a Herc. v. 609.

Met. l. 13. —*dant oscula terræ Troades*—

Whensoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an incivility to detaine him. *Menelaus* accordingly practised, and left it for a rule.

Χρὴ ξεῖνον παρόντα φιλεῖν ἐθέλοντα δ' πέμπειν.

And parting they usually gave ξενήια δῶρα, or τὰ ξένια, some thing or other for a remembrance, or to bear their charges by the way. Besides every mans private benevolence, there was πανδοχεῖον, a common Hospitall maintained by the City. Where if any strangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magistrate and be righted. Indeed a murtherer or such like person, they might not by any means πυθέσθαι (as he calls it) entertain him, and give him meat and drink, as being *aquæ & igni interdictum*.

CAP. IX.

De Pauperibus sublevandis.

AND now in the last place, I have a word to say also of the good will which the *Athenians* bare to the poor. And certainly if they intended no more than the *Honour of their City*, they would be loath to suffer any to become a begger; * of whom *Isocrates* saies in his *Areopag.* πῶς οὐκ ἂν

* That there may be no poor among you &c. Deuter. 15. 4. So some render

τῇ πόλει, *that he is a disparagement to the City wherein he lives.* To prevent the disgrace, every ἑταιρεία or *Society*, kept a *poor mans box*, or a common Treasury, for the relieſe of ſuch as came to poverty, and the ranſome of the Captives. Into that box once every month; they uſed εἰσφέρειν ἔρανον, *conferre eranum* (as *Plutus* ſaies *eranum amici contulerunt*) to put every mans contribution; and from thence were the contributers called by the name of ἐρανισταὶ or ἐρανῶν πλήρωται. He that thus came to a *gathering* (as we call it) was ſaid συλλέγειν or κομίζεσθαι τὸν ἔρανον, as in *Ariſtotle* (*Acroas. l. 2. c. 5.*) where he makes this inſtance of a thing κατὰ τύχην, *that happened by chance*; if a creditor, ἅτε τὰ ἀναλωθέντα τὰ ἀργύρια ἦλθεν ἂν κομιζόμενα τὸν ἔρανον, *with his Bond in his hand ſhould come to his debtor for money, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the pariſh* (as we ſay) *for a collection.* Such another contribution was that which they called ἔρανον παραπῶν, appointed by *Ariſtides* for thoſe that aſſiſted him in the Warre againſt the *Medes*, of which *Ariſtides* in his *Lyſiſtrate*. If there hapned any controverſie in this buſineſſe, there were νόμοι ἐρανικοί, Lawes and Writs made for the purpoſe.

אפס כילא אביון יהוה כה

Plato ſpeaks very well of this * cuſtome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his anſwer to *Pliny* approves it, permitting the uſe thereof to the *Amiſeni* (for other Cities had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, ſi tale Collationi &c.*

* L. 9. de Leg.

Other proviſion there was beſides this *eranus*, for their relieſe. For the richer ſort were wont every new moon, to make a great feaſt of Bread, & other courſe fare for this purpoſe. Which feaſt being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occaſion to them to call every courſe, beggerly feaſt, by the name of *Hecates cœna*. But as bad as the fare was, the *perſon* in *Pluto Ariſtophanis*, took his argument even from thence to commend the condition of the poor, above that of the rich, Saies he — παρὰ δ' Ἑκάτης ἐξέστι τοῦτο μανθάνειν

Εἴτε τὸ πλουτεῖν, εἴτε τὸ μὴ ζῆν κάλλιον &c.

Aſk Hecate, and ſhe will tell you which is beſt. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, money allowed them out of the Treaſury, to pay for *places* at the *Playes* and *Shewes*

De Ritibus Bellicis.

CAP. 1.

De Militibus.

SECT. III. HAving ſpoken of the cuſtomes uſed by the *Athenians* amongſt *themſelves*, it will be fitting in the next place to ſay ſomething of thoſe which they uſed towards their *enemies*; and after that of thoſe towards either, or both in Divinations.

The Warlike proviſion which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being liſted *inter Ephebos* (which was as I told you at the age of eighteen) were from that time till twenty, ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις, (as they called it) that is, they muſt be *circitores* or *fraxatores*. Or they muſt περιπολεῖν τὰ περὶ πόλιν φρούρια ſtand ſentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employed in the making of Works, and the like according to that of *Terence, Video heri-lem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex Piræo abierit, nam ibi publicè eſt nunc.* The firſt of the two yeares they kept within the City, but the ſecond they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a ſheild, and a Spear, and a χλαμὺς or Coat for a Livery. During theſe two yeares, they could not be compelled to fight ἔξω τείχους, *without the Liberties.* But ever after till forty they might. And both the firſt, and every year after, till the end of forty two yeares, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the Ἐπώνυμος, regiſtred in this manner, ὁδεῖνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ἐπωνύμου, *Such a one in pay, ever ſince ſuch a one was Archon Eponymus*: to ſhew how long every man had been in ſervice. Of theſe Ἐπώνυμοι, there were twenty two, according to the number of the yeares from eighteen to forty. They are called Ἐπώνυμοι λέξεως, from

Harpocr.

* In Eunuch.

Ulpian. ad Olymp.

from the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, in which they listed their names after they were twenty years old, and sometimes Ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικιῶν, because they thus kept a name of every mans *age*: in opposition to Ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν, who were but to keep a note of their *Tribes*. Now some there were that were *exempted*, and some that were *excluded* from that service: the former were such as Custom-holders οἱ τὰ τέλη τελοῦντες, who therefore had the priviledge ἀτελείας: or the χορδωνοί, *i. e.* οἱ τῷ Διονύσῳ χορδῶντες, Bacchus his *Salii*, or *dancing Priests*. The latter were οἱ θῆτες slaves, and all such *proletarious* People, who were not to be imployed but in case of necessity nor had the honour ἐν καλαύροπι στρατεύεσθαι, which the others had. For *they*, as soon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus* ὁ κατομόσας τὸν ὅρκον, were listed by the Πολέμαρχος, or General (as many as he κατέλεξεν, *made choice* of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the κατάλογος, or Muster role, which he kept for the same purpose, having beside that another πίναξ or Table book, for such as were *Emeriti*, *out of service*, and discharged. After they had been listed by the General, they were to be listed again by the under officer; the ἴλαρχος, or the foot by the πεζάρχοι, and the Horse-men by the φυλάρχοι. The ὁπλῖται were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much armour, βαρυτάτῃ ὁπλίσει & were *gravis armaturæ milites*, with their wide Shields and long Speares. 2ly Ψιλοὶ *Levis armaturæ milites*, such as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the sling. And 3ly. Πελτασταί, a middle sort between both, with their πέλται or ἀσπίδια, *narrow sheilds*, *and short Speares*. Such as they made choyce of for Horsemen, were to be δυνατοὶ καὶ πένητες τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι (saies *Xenophon*) *able both in body and purse*; and therefore were to be examined first by the *Senate* of 500, before they could be listed; and so were likewise the Horses themselves, to try whether they were ἀκροβατοῦντες *skittish*, or θορυβώδεις (as the Scholiast calls it) *Noyse proofe*. And this they did τῷ καλδωνοφόνῳ, with a *Bell*, or a *Kettle drum*, or a *Pipe*, I know not which I shall render it. And now I am put in

Aristot. de Rep. Ath.

in mind of the Κώδων, which they used to make a noyse with all, when they did περιπολεῖν *Walk the round* to try whether the Guards were asleep or no, which they called Κωδωνοφορεῖν or Κωδωνίζειν.

— Κωδωνοφορεῖ, πανταχῆ
Φυλακὰς καθιστάμενος.

Insomuch that Κωδωνίζειν, is used for the same with πειρᾶζειν, *to try, or prove* (as in *Aristophanis Batrachis.* ὅπου πρῶτα κωδωνίσω) and ἀκώδωνιστον for ἀπείρατον *intentatum.* (As in *Lysistrate*, ἡ Θρᾴττα πᾶσας ἐλέγχει ὡς ἀνῆρον ἀκώδωνιστον ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πρᾶγμα μεθύοντας.)

If a Horse had been πεπυμωμένος *worn and beaten out* with long service, they marked him in the Jaw with the sign of a τροχός (a *wheele* I think) & gave him his πυρίπτιον, (for so they called both the mark & the discharge it self:) whence came the proverb used by *Eupolis* ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μοὶ ἐμβαλεῖς πυρίπτιον to give a man his πυρίπτιον, that is his *discharge.* All their Horses the Greeks reckoned to be consecrated to the Sun, and Beda upon the *Kings*, gives the reason, *Audientes Græci ab Israëliticis, (quos divinas habere literas fama prodebat) quod Helias curru igneo, & equis igneis sit ad cœlestes translatus (vel certè hoc ipsum inter alia depictum in pariete videntes) crediderunt vicinia decepti nominis Solis hic transitum per cœlos esse designatum, & miraculum divinitus factum commutarunt in argumentum erroris*, &c. because *Helias* once was carried up to Heaven with Horses, therefore *Helius* or the Sun, must be thought to have horses consecrated to his service ever after.

Hesych.

The horse-men, first, some were διμάχαι, that had two *mates to fight*, with Armour for the purpose, and a boy to hold their horse while they fought a foot (a fashion of *Alexanders* own inventing) Some were ἵππαγωγοί, that had two *Horses*, one to ride upon, and the other to lead, from ἄγωγη. Their manner of life was very high and stately, for many times they would πομπεύειν, that is, have a *transvection*, or ride into the City in Pomp and triumph, with a Coach and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, usually called by the name of a ξυρὶς, as it in these verses.

1. Poll. 8. c. 10.

Ora

Οπωσὺ μέγας ἦν ἄρα τ' ἐλαύνης τοῖς πάλαι
Ὡς ὧν Μεγακλέους ξυσιδ' ἔχων.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horse, or sit in the chaire. *Aurigæ* then were called ἡνιοῖς, and were better than ὀχεύοντι, who lookt to the Coach onely.

The number of the Horsemen was greater or lesse, according to the number of the people. Otherwise (as *Pollux* saith) every ναυκραρία (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Most of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *assidui*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, insomuch that they reckon'd it a very disgracefull thing to be *ærarii*, or *mercenarii*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers pay, what it was, because it was so often changed, I think I had better be silent. And concerning the habit, and diet of others onely this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbad them to be ἀβροδιαίτους, *dainty* and to weare long haire, as some say: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant onely of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, ἵνα μὴ παρέχωσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀντίληψιν τοῖς πολεμίοις; *that the enemy might have no hold fast*, saies *Plutarch* in his *Theseus*, where he saies also that the fashion being first used by *Theseus* was therefore called Θησηΐς.

CAP. II.

De Armis quibus vim propulsabant.

THE first makers of Armour are said to be the *Lemnians*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Metall whereof it was made, at the first was Brass, saies *a Pausanias*: but for want of Iron, saies *Hesiod*. [a] In Lacon.

Χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο, μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος.

The most noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the *coat of Mail*. The most noted thing in the Helmet, was the *Crest*, invented by the *Cares*, and therefore called by *Alcæus*

κρανὸς λόφος. The thing or the part wherein, or whereto it
Homer. was fastned they called φάλος, and to fasten it ἐρυθαίνειν.

Πλοκάμοισι δ' ὁ χρυσὸς ἀερτάζῳ ἰσοκάμοιν.

The Crest was double or treble, according to the quality of the person. For if he were an *hero* it might be treble, saies
b In Oreſt. *b Euripides*, and *quadruple*, saies *c Apollonius*.
c L. 3.

Τετρήεσσα δ' ὑπερθε λόφος ἐπιλάμπετο φάλῳ.

The stuffe whereof it was made, was usually feathers, and the hair of a Horse taile, and thence it is that it is called ἱππουρις,
d Id. 23. and ἱππόκομος πυραύλεια in *d Theocritus*; and that it is said ἐπιχέσθαι
e Ariſtoph. Pace. when the hair fell off. The other parts of the Helmet bare the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as ὀφρύες the *eyebrows*, and the rest, except the *Penthouse* τὸ γένειον. Of the *Shield*, both the *matter* and the *forme*, was of several kinds, for sometimes it was made of Oziers woven together, according to that of *Virgil*.

Æn. 7. *—flectuntque Salignas*
Umbonum crates— (but then they
Heſyh. called it ἰτέα) and sometimes of wood: but most commonly of raw Oxe-hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid one upon the other. *Ovid* saies *Ajax* had *Septemplicem clypeum*, a Buckler that had seven pieces or foldings in it, and *Achilles* another that had ten. Neither was this all, for it was done over with Brasse besides, as that of *Achilles* was,

—& æs & proxima rupit
Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum eſt.

e Troad. v. 1336 And therefore in *e Euripides* it is called χαλκόβοτος ἀσπίς. For the forme of it, it was sometimes long, sometimes round, and sometimes square. The names of the several parts of it you may have in *I. Pollux L. 1. c. 10.* Onely thus much I may tell you, first for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deal of curiosity, both for shew and for use, as having κύγχαι ornaments to be seen, and κυγχῶνες little holes to see others by, set in the ἴτυς, or the border. And 2ly, for the invention of them, the handle by which they held it, called πάρυμα, or πόρπαξ, or ὄχανον, was invented by the *Carii*, and thence it was that *Aeschylus* called it καρικὸν

χεῖρ

γὴς ὄχετον: and so were likewise the *umbilicus*, and the *armes*, and most of the rest. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they used to put a Shield and a Creſt into the Grave along with him. The *Armes*, (τὰ σημεῖα, or ἐπίσημα) were different, according to the quality of the *bearer*. *Ulisses* had his δικρανόσημον; *Idomeneus* Grand-child to *Sol* a *Rouſt-cock* the *avant courreur* to the *Sun*. But the *Heroes* anciently, and for the moſt part, used to bear Eagles, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἀετοὺς. To the Arms, they added *verſes* in commendation of the proweſs of the Perſon by which he deſerved thoſe Armes, and the names of the maker; ſuch *Pauſanias* relates upon that of *Idomeneus*. The *caſe* or *Theca* wherein the Shield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like *caſes*, according to that in *Andromache*. Strobo l. 14. * Ariſtoph. in Ran. In Eliatr.

Καλλίσω τὸν ἐν ταῖς σάγμασι Eut. v. 617.

Rhodiginus ſaies, that in the uſe of the ſhield, there were ſome things which they obſerved to be *ominous*; for if it happend to ſtrike their knee, they counted it lucky: but if they ſtruck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill-ſigne. The moſt famous ſhield that ever I read of in heathen writers, was that of *Jupiter Aegiochus*, named Αἰγὶς, becauſe he covered it with the skin of his nurſe the goat called *Amalthea*; this ſhield he beſtowed upon *Minerva*, who ingraved upon it the *Stone-making* or *aſtoniſhing* head of *Meduſa*. Whether that *Scutum ſacrum* which *Alexander* is ſaid to have ſtolne, and to have carried alwaies before him, were the ſame with this or no, I know not. Their ſhields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the faſhion was alſo for the other ſorts of armes) they ſuffered not to have their πόρπακες, (or ſome ſuch neceſſary appurtenances) that ſo in caſe there ſhould be any inſurrection, they might be the leſſe ready for uſe, which was the cauſe why he in the Poet cryed out ſo as he did, when he ſaw it otherwiſe. L. 21. c. 14.

Οἵ μοι τάλας ἔχων γε πόρπακας·

For ſaies another a little before.

Οὐ γὰρ ἀσπὶς, εἶπε φίλοις, ἐκ δόμων ἐκπολίζει

Τῶν πασσάλων αὐτοῖς πῆξιν ἀναπόδυτα.

The *Coats of Mail* were of three sorts: the first ζῶμα, which reached from the navell to the knees: the second Ἡμιθωράκιον, which covered halfe the breſt, ſuch as *Polyænus* reports to have been much uſed by the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great: The third θώραξ, which reached from the ſhoulders to the navel, ſo called ἀπὸ τοῦ θῆσον ἀΐσσειν, from *preſerving* the *heart*, and the breſt: from which peculiar office of it, *Ariſtophanes* in *Acharnenſibus*, borrows the word θωρήξασθαι, for to ſignifie to be well nigh drunk, (as we ſay when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well armed againſt the cold) and ἀκροθωρηκτεῖν, to ſignifie ἀκροποτεῖν, *drunk to the top*. Now a *Thorax* was either κατὰ *all of one piece*, *plain* like κατὰ χιτὼν *recta tunica*: or elſe ἀλυσιδωτὸς, with *chaines* or plates of iron put between the leather (as it is in our Coats of Mail.) the *leather* I ſay, becauſe it was uſually made of a hide (τὸ Δέρμα) as the *Scuta* were,

— καὶ ἡ θώραξ δέρμα.

Etymol.

Ariſtoph. in Pace.

So they ſay that the Latine word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum* the dryed and tanned hide, whereof it was made. According to that of *Virgil*,

Cui pellis latos humeros exempta juvenco
Pugnatori operit.

The holes where they put out their armes *Ariſtophanes* calls Σκαλμούς, by a Metaphor from the hole of a boat, where they put out the Oares.

The *Colour* moſt in uſe upon their Armes, Cloathes, or creſts, &c. was crimſon red, either to make themſelves the leſſe afraid, if they ſaw their blood, being uſed to the colour; or elſe that the enemy might be the leſſe able to perceive it, if they ſhould chance to be wounded. From the *Phœnician* colour, the *Lacedemonians* called their Coat (or Creſt, or what is it) φοινικίδα. In alluſion to whoſe *red bloody* colour, the Poët in *Acharnenſes* ſpeaking of having a few beaten till the blood came, thus expreſſes it.

Ariſtoph. in Pace.

Μὴ κατατείνειν ἀνδρα τοῦτον εἰς φοινικίδα.

Let's card him and work him, and belabour him, 'till we make his skin like a φοινικὶς.

To

To carry the *Proviſion* in, every man had his γύλιον, or Idem.
ὀψοδήκην σπυριτικὴν a kind of *basket (fiſcinam)* made of Oziers (πίγανα) with a long narrow neck. And therefore the Poët having uſed the word γύλιον, to ſignifie ſuch a thing, in the ſame Comedy uſes the word γυλιοσχίνας, to ſignifie *men that had a neck as long as that thing.* Their ordinary proviſion was Cheeſe, & Olives, and Onions. Their quantity commonly ſo much as would ſerve for three dayes, according to that of the ſame Poët ſtill, and in the ſame Comedy, where ſpeaking againſt the troubleſome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in *viz.*

Ἐπιπρᾶσις τὰ σῖτ' ἡμερῶν τεττάρων.

Thoſe too often repeated *Orders for three dayes proviſion.*

CAP. III.

De Armis quibus vim inferebant.

THE *Armes*, or the *Weapons* they uſed to fight with, were in ancient time clubs (uſed alſo for putting of Malefactors to death) called by * *Homer* φάλαγγες, according to that of *Horace,* *Il. 4.

Unguibus & pugnis, dein fuſtibus, atque ita porrò
Pugnabant armis quæ poſt fabricaverat uſus.

But afterward they came to Speares, a weapon ſo highly eſteemed, that ſome would not ſtick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Euſtathius*: ἄγουσι μίζη πάλαι ὡς ὀρθὸν ἀνεστηκὸς τὸν σεσιτικὸν ἀειδμόν. Where ἀειδμόν, ſome ſay ſignifies to worſhip, and ſo they ſay of the word *numerare*, uſed by *Cicero* in his book *De Nat. Deorum. Novi ego Epicureos omnia ſigilla numerãtes.*) Thus it is reported of one *Pherens Alexander* a Tyrant, that having killed his unkle *Polyphron* with his Speare, he took it and crowned it with Garlands, and cauſed it to be adored by the name of θεόν. One would have thought it ſufficiently honoured, to be uſed by Kings inſtead of Scepters, as *Juſtin* ſaith it was; or at moſt to *have a place* in the Temple: or elſe to have been *dedicated* to a

god, as *Plutarch* ſaith it was to *Pallas*, (becauſe of πάλλειν, the proper word for ἀκόντιον) & to be joyned to the ſtatue of the god: for ſo it commonly was among the Latines eſpecially, whence it came that *haſtæ motæ*, *ſpeaking of the Speares*, ſo often ſpoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted ſuch a grand *prodigium*. If there were none of this, yet the reſpect they gave to them will ſufficiently appear, in the care they took of the keeping them. For while they ſlept in the field they faſtned it ἐν σαυρωτῆρι, which *Pollux* interprets, the *butt-end* of the Speare made (it may be) with a *croſſe* for the better hold faſt, *quaſi* σαυροῦσθαι from σαυρός. But *Euſtathius* ſaith it was an iron with a ſharp tail like a ſnake, to be ſet in the ground, and hollow head, to ſet the ſpeare in, from σαῦρος *Lacerta* a *Lizard*, which it reſembled. When they came home, they ſet it in a long wooden *caſe*, made of purpoſe by a pillar of the houſe.

Odyſſ. 1.

Ἔγχος μέν ῥ' ἐ ἵστη φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὸν
Δουρὸς ἐϊνετῆς ἐν πασσάλῳ ἐϊξόον.—

ſaies *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

Exin quæ mediis ingenti adnixa columna
Ædibus aſtabat, valida vi corripit haſtam.

Æn. 12.

The cuſtome firſt πάλλειν to *vibrate* the Speare before they uſed it, to try the ſtrength of it, was ſo conſtantly kept that ἐγχίσπαλος, a *ſhake-ſpeare*, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and in other Poets to ſignifie a *Souldier*. When the Greeks began the uſe of Bowes, I know not: but it ſeems they had ſuch things, and *Heſychius* in the word ἴτυλα, ſaies they made the *ſtrings* of *Horſes hair*. Swords likewiſe they had, which they uſed to hang by their ſides, διὰ παλαμώνων by *belts*, or ſtrings of leather, as they did the ſhields: and the ſtrings came over the ſhoulders as ours do.

Οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ μεγάθυμον ἄορ ἴκελτο.

σχ on 111 γ. Heſiod.

What other offenſive armes they had I know not. But the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled moſt in the *defenſive* and that the Barbarians were better at the offenſive.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, consulendi deos, observandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.

A Scarefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike affaires, I cannot find but that they did *properè si qui quæ piget inchoare, beare* a greater affection to *Peace*: as may appear in their honourable receiving of Embassadors, to whom they gave *hearing* in no worse place than a *Temple*; [a] and their *entertainment* in the *Prytaneum*. The usuall ensign carryed by Greek Embassadors, was κηρύκιον, *caduceus*, a *right staffe* of wood with snakes twisted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whether this was to affright them from discord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth* (a seed of dissention sometime sown by *Cadmus* among *Draco's* friends) 'tis but σχαζοσκοπία *conjecture*, and a bolt perhaps too *soon shot* to hit the marke. An Embassadours allowance, was two Etym. δραχμαὶ a day, which they usualy called τὸ σιτηρέσιον. If the Peace could not be *kept*, but they must needs have warre, yet they would be sure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamations of their intentions, before they marcht. The manner in proclaiming Warre, was to send a fellow of σχ. Homer in purpose, either to cast a Speare, or let loose a Lamb into Batrochom. the borders of the Country, or into the City it selfe, whether they were marching (which *Hesychius* rather thinks to have been the signall before a battle) thereby shewing them μηλόβοτον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπων, that what was then Diogenian. a habitation for *men*, should be shortly a pasture for *sheep*, and what was then pasture for their *own* sheep, should be shortly turned to the use of their *enemies*. Before they set forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation; considering, and examining whether it were convenient or not: the Gods must be sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners sought to, and all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City searcht into: for this course the

[a] Demosth. περὶ παραπρ.

the [b] Tragœdian makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of Athens, upon the coming of *Euripsheum*. Then besides this, after the manner of others Nations, Jewish, Latine, and Persian, they used to vow one thing or other to be devoted and consecrated to the gods in case they prevailed: such as was that of the Tithe of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vows of the like price. Nay the *Athenians* were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, testifying the gods dislike of such courses, and commending the frugality of the *Lacedemonians*.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of *dayes*. For as the *Lacedemonians* thought it not good to march ἐντὸς πανσελήνου, till the *full* of the Moone: so neither did they think it lucky either to march ἐντὸς ἑβδόμης, till the *seventh* day of the Month, or to make any Commanders till the *new* of the Moon. In marching, the Generall used always ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δέξιον to *keep himselfe on the right horne, or wing*. The Souldiers but newly entred (οἱ νεωλήπτοι) kept themselves ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς ἀκινδύνοις, *in those parts*, or those *Corpora* (as the Romans called them) which were lesse in danger, such kind of service was from thence called στρατεία ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι, and sometimes πεδρόμια. When they came to a River, before they went over they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called θύειν τὰ διαβατήρια. No passing without a prayer,

—σὺν δ' ἐξηῒ δῶν ἐς γαῖαν ῥηθέρα.

The Romans alwaies observed the like custome, when they came to Petronia, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly calling the action *Peremnè auspicari*.

[b] Πάλιν δ' ἐν ὅπλοις σφάγια δ' ἤλοιμα Ζεύς νε, Ἔσχαν, εἰς χαλαῶτα τεμνόμενα θεῶν, συμμαλεῖν τε δ' ἐκμάντων υἱὸν τεταῖα τ' ἐχθρῶν, καὶ πόλει σωτηρία, χρησμῶν τε ἀοιδοὺς πάντας εἰς ἓν ἀγίσας Ἡλιγξα καὶ βέβηκα καὶ κεκυμέναλόμα πάλαι δὲ τῆδ' ἐσωτήρια.

σχ Aristoph. in Eq.

Suidas.

Hesiod. l. 2.

Festus.

CAP. V.

De ritu Committendi pralium, & de usu tubarum.

WHen they fought a Battle, after they had killed a *victime* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the *Torches*: for τυπτόντες οὐκ ἐν σάλπιγξιν, instead of sounding a Trumpet,

pet, they had fellowes whom they called πυροφόροι, that went before with Torches, and throwing them downe in the midst between the two Armies gave the signe.

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Lariſſæo Statius Th. 4
Obtrudit Bellona facem.

Lycophron in his ἰχθ ἐγὼ δ' πυρ ζον, and *Pindar* in ὅμνων πυρσὸν ſeem to allude to this *incentive* or *incendiary*. Now this buſineſſe they might do ſafely, and without any danger, ἀπροφόβως ἀνέδυνοι For the *Torch bearers* were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted *ſacred*, * ἱερὰ γὰρ ἦν: inſomuch that it became a proverb, when any Army was totally defeated, ὡς ὁ πυρφόρος ἔφυγεν. Thoſe *Torches Euripides in Rheſus* calls πυρὸς λαμπάδας, where he ſaies that the *Achivi avoided* them, that is, refuſed the fight.

* σχ. in Eurip. Phæn.

ἐσφάλησαν δὲ οἱ πυρφόροι· εἰ γὰρ πάντες ἀπώλοντο.

—— πυρὸς λαμπάδας ἐξήνεγκε χαλκῶν
Φεύγειν Ἀχαιούς.

Qui elatas ex, audiens faces
Fugere Achivos. (better in my mind than *Qui audiens ignis faces accenſas adductus eſt, ut credat fugere &c.*) Nay, not only when they would ſignifie their intentions to *fight* with the enemy, *to the enemy himſelf*: but alſo when they would ſignifie his approach to *others*, to have their aſſiſtance, they made uſe of Torches too, which they called φρυκτοὶ. The word is rendred *faces*, and you may render it *Brands*, or *Beacons* if you will, for they are made of dry wood, not ſticks, that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. And they had men ſtill who did φρυλαρεῖν *keep* φρυκτωρίαν *Watches* in the * Towers or Forts, as we do at the Beacons. If the enemy came in the night, they fired the Brands, if he came by day, they raiſed a ſmoke. But I muſt tell you, there were φίλιοι φρυκτοὶ, Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of their friends too, as well as πολέμιοι. But with this diſtinction, that φίλιοι were held, or let lye ſtill: but the πολέμιοι were toſſed and ſhaken to and fro,

Ad Iliad. 2. Inter Homer Il. 6.

* καὶ φρυκτωροῦσ. ὡς ὁ Πισίστρατος. Ariſtoph. in Avib.

But thoſe Torches *laſted* not alwayes. For afterwards they came to make uſe of Trumpets, according to that of *Æſchylus*

In Perſis.

Σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῆ πᾶσ' ἀκεῖν' ἐπήρτα γοᾶ.

In or *accendit* ſtill, perhaps in a metaphor from the fire of the *Torches* once in uſe. The firſt invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* to the *Tyrrheni*, from whom it is conceived to have been firſt brought into Greece by one *Archidas* an aſſiſtant to the *Heraclidæ*, as the ſame Scholiaſt reports in the ſame place, a ἐπὶ δ' ἐνήμιν, ὄρθιον τυρσηνικὴν Σάλπιγγ' ἡ σωφρονίσας ἀλλήλοις μάχην v. 830. b C. 6. §.

In Phœn.

a Ἀρχίδας συμμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἦλθε τὴν τυρσηνικὴν σάλπιγγα εἰς Ἕλληνας.

And therefore he calls the Trumpet τυρσηνικὴν, *viz.* from the inventers; As the Poet himſelf had done before, both in his *Phœniſſa*, and his *Heraclida*. where he ſaies it was uſed when they joyned Battle, and that then it ſounded b ὄρθιον a *long blaſt*, like that in the book of *Judges* (but of this word I have ſpoken before.) There was a time when ſhields did ſerve for Trumpets *concha quæque ſonantes*: and then you might eaſily conſtrue that riddle of *Theognis*.

Ἦλθ' ἐκ κέλευθος θαλάσσης οἴκαδε ναυβὸς
Τεθνηκὼς ζωῷ φθογγὴν δοὺς σώματι.

CAP. VI.

De Scytalâ, de Militum pœnis & præmiis & Sepulturâ.

IF it went well with the Army in the fight, the meſſenger that was ſent with the newes was adorned with Garlands. In the mean time thoſe that were at home and conſtitutally looke for newes, uſed to ſacrifice to the gods in the waies, εἰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἦν, ἐπαινέσωσι τὸν πέμψαντα· εἰ δὲ τἀναντία, ἐπιτρέψωσι, *If it were good, to bring it along the way to them, if not, to be there in the way and ſtop it.* For cloſe conveying of the intelligence I ſuppoſe they had ſeverall waies. Whether they made uſe of the *Lacedæmonian* σκυτάλη, I know not. If you pleaſe, you may head the diſcription thereof in A. *Gellius* at full: or in the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in his *Aves*. Where he ſaies, that they made them two ſtaves or rods ἰσομήκη of *a length*, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carryed by the General along with him. When they meant to ſend him any private meſſage, they took a piece of πέπλος a skin, or parchment,

c Ἐπὶ καταστρωθῆσεσθαι· ὁρῶ &c. Soph. Trach: χ. In Ariſtoph. Eq.

L. 17. c. 9.

ment, and wrote upon it, ſo as it could not be underſtood, unleſs it were rolled upon thoſe ſtaves, and the parchment and the ſtaffe one applied to the other. This Lacedemonian trick (as it ſeems by the Poet, whether he ſpake in jeſt or in earneſt, I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athenians, among a great many other things, out of a *Laconomany*, as he terms it, or a humour like that of the Engliſh towards the French.

Ελληνομάνται πάντες ἄνδρωνι τόνδε
Σκυτάλῃ ἐξόρνυ.

If any one turned αὐτομόλος, *tranſfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he ſuffered death. If he had been ἀστρατήτος, and *would* not, or ἄοπλος and *could* not fight for fear, or if ἀλιποὺς ἢ ῥίψασπις, or ῥίψασπις, he had *left his rank* or *thrown down* his *Armes*, he was regiſtred and delivered to the *Heliaſtæ* to be puniſhed as they pleaſed, and not to come to the Temples, till he had ſatisfied juſtice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward. Vide ſupr. Æſchines contra Cteſiph. Eurip. Heracl. v. 666.

Οὐχ ὅστις ἀνὴρ ζῶν ἀπολείπει ἐν μάχῃ.

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two ὀβολοί, ſaies *Heſychius*: (but *one* ſayes *Harpocration*) every day out of the publick Treaſury: but firſt they were to be examined by the Parliament of *five hundred*, whether they were ἀδύνατοι now ἀδύνατοι were οἱ ἐντὸς τριῶν μνῶν κεκτημένοι, ſaies *Harpocration*, thoſe whoſe eſtates came not to ſo much as three *mine*. Such as were *ſlain*, their Children were maintained out of the publick Treaſure, till they came to be twenty years old, and then they had ἀναπαυσαλίαι, a *Suit of Armes* beſtowed upon them, ἀναμιμνήσκουσα τῶν τῆς πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων, *to put them in mind of their fathers exploits*, and to keep them from degenerating. They had the honour alſo προεδρίαι, of having the formoſt ſeat at *ſhewes*. If they buried the party ſlain in the ſame place (as they did all at *Marathon* fight) the faſhion was then to make a ſhield his *Bier*, as twas before to make it his *cradle*, according to thoſe words of the Lacedemonian *virago* to her Son, as ſhe was helping on his ſhield, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶν, either do thou bring *the ſhield home again*, or Vid. Supr. Plato.

a Arma superveheris quid, Thrasibule, tua? Auson Epig. 24.

lets the shield bring a *thee* nay and to make it his Coffin too sometimes, as it seemes by the saying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Astianax.*

Αλλ' ἀντὶ πέδης, ἀσπίδωλον λαΐναν
Εν τῇ ξυλλαβὼν παῖδα.

At the buriall, the rest of his company Marched in equipage thrice about the *Pyra*, shaking their Armes and throwing their swords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the fire or the grave after him. But for the most part they were allowed a publique burial upon the common charge, at home in the *Ceramicus* all together. And then three dayes before the burial, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the burial day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypresse wood and carrying away each one their bones, put them in the ground with several pillars and inscriptions, and one solemne speech for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed to have their Armes in their Shields, or else placed in the ἄξονι, and honoured with the name of *Cecropidæ, Citizens of the true old blood*: according to that

Thucid. l. 3.

Οἱ παλαιγενεῖς Κεκροπίδαι δῆτ' ἐγὼ.

Sometimes such as had the *first fruits* (or the *prime*) of the spoyles, were adorned with a golden στέφανος:

Euripin Phœn. Ibid.

Καὶ τόνδε χρυσῆν στέφανον αἰσθὰς ἔχω
δάφνης ἀναγκάσασα σκυλεύμασιν.

CAP. VIII.

De Trophæis.

FOr *memorials* of the victory, ἐνίσταντο τρόπαια, *they erected Trophies*: (you may write τροπαῖα, if you had rather follow the most *ancient*; than that which is newest in fashion.) Trophies were usually *pillars* of brasse, or stone, or wood. And the wood sometimes *olive* (τὰ τρόπαια ἐκ τύτων οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐτίθεσαν, saies *Dionysius*) and sometimes the trunk of an *Oake*.

a Οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ λιθίνοις ἐστέλλωσιν, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἐκ παντὸς ξυλίνοις. χ. In Aristoph. Plut.

— Quercusque trophæis Cinxit tremens —

Those

Thoſe Pillars among *them* anſwered to the *arcus triumphalis* among the Latines. Only *that* might be overthrown, but *theſe* might neither be taken away, nor reſtored again, if conſumed with age or the like, ὅτι ἀνευ αὖθις ἀναλαμβάνειν ἢ ἀνανεοῦσθαι ἐπιτρέπουσιν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ παλαιὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ μίση τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀνανεώσωνται, leaſt they *ſhould thereby rub up the old ſore and revive the grudge with their enemies.* And therefore ſayes the ſame Author, ὡς ἐναντίους ὄντας τοῖς χαλκοῖς τροπαίοις καὶ στάσεως πρόσωπον εὐθὺς ἔχοντας *Thoſe that made them Trophies of braſs, were looke upon as contentious men, and haters of Amneſty.* Now upon the Trophie, they ingraved an ἐπίγραμμα, declaring the cauſe of the Warre and the manner of the Victory: ſuch a one as *Othryades* wrote with the blood of the *Argivi.* The like *inſcriptions* many times were written upon other things. For *Pauſanias* having conquered *Mardonius* at *Platea*, did not only at *Byzantium* write upon the *Cup*, which he conſecrated to the gods of the place, (as *Athenæus* reports to his diſpraiſe for his arrogance) but alſo upon a *tripus* beſides, which he cauſed to be made of Gold and ſent to *Delphos*, with this inſcription

Plut. in Roman.

Stobæus de Fortuna.

Thucid. l. 1.

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμα τόδε στήσας.

Wherewith the *Lacedemonians* being diſpleaſed blotted it clean out and inſtead thereof, engraved the names onely of thoſe Cities, by whoſe help they obtained the victory. And ſo when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they cauſed an inſcription to be ſet up in the vault called a Ποικίλη. a Ἑλλήνων ὅμαιμα χώρας Ἀθηναίοι Μαραθῶνι Ἔκτειναν.

In *Cicero's* b time (it ſeems) the cuſtome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he ſayes, that the *Thebans* were accuſed for erecting a Trophy over the *Lacedemonians.* But inſtead of them, they erected ſometimes altars, (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amanus*) and ſometimes Images to *Jupiter* τροπαίῳ (ſo called from cauſing the enemy τρέπεσθαι to turne their *backs*: as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for cauſing their own Souldiers to *ſtand* to their ground) ſuch a one as *Hyllus* and Ἰόλαος (as I told you before of κακὸς) *good or valiant* Iolaus erected.

b In Piſon.

c Eurip in Heracl v. 937.

— c Βέβηκε Διὸς τροπαίοις χαλκήνιχον ἕδρασεν.

The *Spoyles* which they took (σκῦλα from the dead, and λάφυρα from the *living*) they uſually dedicated to the gods, and ſometimes ſent them to *Delphos*. The common name for ſuch things was ἀκροθίνια, *quaſi* ἀκροσώρια, ſaies *Euſtathius*, as if it were ὄθεν τὰ σώρευμα ἦν μάχης τοιοῦτος: the ſame name which they gave to thoſe goods, wch the Merchants conſecrated for delivery from ſhipwrack (only that then there is a new Etymology, viz. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀ *litore* ἀναχθέντας ἀναθημάτων ἐξ εὐχῆς πομπὰς διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώζεσθαι, becauſe the things were ſaved from being caſt *on ſhore*.) But I rather incline to the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles Trachiniæ*, who ſaies thoſe ἀπαρχαὶ, or the *firſt fruits of the ſpoyles* which they Sacrificed to the gods were called ἀκροθίνια, becauſe they uſed to lay the ſpoyles, which they had taken together on a heap, and then ἀπ' ἄκρου σώρου, they skimm'd away the *Creame*, as I may ſay, or the *Crop*, or the *Choyce* to be given back for the gods that gave them. In alluſion whereunto *Megara* in *Euripides*, ſpeaking what choyce of Wives ſhe had made for her ſons out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expreſſes it thus:

Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐκ θυτηλαζόμην.

The Armes which they took, ἀνέθεσαν they *hung up* for the moſt part in their Temples (and ſometimes in their own houſes) as they did their *own*, when they left the ſervice, as, *Horace* ſayes, *lib.* 1. *Epiſt.* 1.

—*Veianius, armis*
Herculis ad poſtem fixis, latet abditus agro.

Some of the ſpoyles they hung upon the Trophies, but *wrote* them all. For that was the cuſtome, τὰ σκῦλα ἐπιγράφειν ſaies the *Scholiaſt*.

a Νίκης ἀναθήματα τῆσδε Ἀστίδες ἢ πύλαιτες ἐπεκρεμάσαντο μιλάδι. Ἐχρ.

b Τρῶιαι ἱδρυταίσι συγγράφειν. ἃν ἔχουσι πολεμίων——
Eurip. Heracl. v. 786.

c In Phœniſ. Eur.

LIBER

LIBER SEPTIMVS.

De ritu Divinandi per motum furentem, & somniantem.

SECT. I.

THERE were not many things in uſe among the Jewes the People of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, do not ſeem to have imitated, and ſo *vice verſâ*. Such as the Prophets were among them, ſuch were the *Magi* among the Perſians, the *Chaldei* among the *Aſſyrians*, *Gymnoſophiſts* among the Indians, the *Galleotæ* among the Sicilians, and the *Hetruſci* among the Italians. Neither was the *honour* or *credit* of *Divination* leſſe than the *uſe*. For if we may believe [a] *Strabo* Οἱ μάντεις ἐνομίσθησαν ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἀξιοῦσθαι, *many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings*: To a Perſian King it was *neceſſary*, to any other *convenient*. *Amphilochus*, and *Mopſus* Kings of the *Argivi* were *Augurs* too. *Helenus* and *Caſſandra* Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sybill*. But to a *Phyſitian*, it was reckoned ſo neceſſary, that *Æſchylus* has uſed ἰατρὸς a Phyſitian, and μάντις a *Prophet*, one for the other, which made *Achilles* in time of the Peſtilence, to ſeek to μάντις for a cure. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer* ſpeaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polyidus*, that were excellent in both Profeſſions. Credit it had among the beſt Philoſophers (eſpecially that of Dreames, and *Enthyſiaſmes*) maintained by *Plato* and the Socraticks, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Ariſtotle* and the Peripateticks. *Pythagoras* indeed was againſt *extiſpicina*, Divination by entralls; and only *Epicurus* againſt that and all the reſt.

[a] L. 16.

Prediction of things to come, was either from *men*, called Μαντικὴ: or from the *Gods*, properly called χρηστήριος *an Oracle*. *According* to that of the [a] Scholiaſt upon *Soprocles*, χρησμὸς μὲν ὁ ἀπὸ θεῶν, μαντεία δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων. Indeed μαντικὴ ſeems to

[a] In Oed. Tyr.

he

be the *genus*, and χρησμὸς the *species*. The same Prophesy which when it was spoken by a god, was a χρησμὸς, when it was delivered by [b] men was μαντεία. In the *Oracles* the word was *Fari (neque me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet)* where as in the *other* it could be but *præsagire* at the wisest. The faculty in the first ἡ μαντικὴ (as we now call it, [c] ἀτεχνοτέχνως τὴν ἐμβάλλουσι) or ἡ μαντικὴ as *Plato* called it (for, as *Tiresias* said, ἐγὼ τὸ μαντεύεσθαι πάντων μαντικώτατον ἔχω) is divided by *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, in τεχνικὴν *artificiosam*, that which is acquired by observation and experience, *observatis longo tempore significationibus &c.* And 2ly, Ἀτέχνον ἢ δι' ἀκρίτου *naturalem*, for which we take little or no paines. These two *species* are said to be ὁ θεσπιῳδὸς δίδυμος μαντοσύνας, the *twins*, or double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeathed to *Jamus* his sonne, and to his Family after him. The natural or infused faculty of Divination, most properly called μαντικὴ, proceeded first *à motu furente*, from a *Frantick motion*. Which though they took it for a help to prophesy; yet it seems rather to have been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophesy of *Isaiah c 44. v. 25.* Said he would *make their diviners mad*. And *Cicero* himself saies 'tis very strange, *ut qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos assecutus sit, that he that hath lost his own sense, should be able to know the sense of the gods.* Hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick speeches of dying men: such as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of six men that were of the same age, which should be first, and which next and so along. Or else it proceeded *à motu somnianti*, from a doting dreaming motion. And then they called it ὁ παραπεπτωκὼς, which because it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a stone *tumbling down the hill.*

b Ennius.

c Plato.

Eurip. in Bacc. 299.

The first kind coming by *Enthusiasme* or Inspiration, was either of lesse authority; such as *Cassandra* had, or *Polybius* Prophesying his sons death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny Or; else of greater, so as to command a beliefe: such as the Sybill women had; or the *Pythia wench*, who delivered the Oracles; which was nothing but a cunning trick,

trick, *à vafris quibuſdam & quæſtuariis inchoatum*, invented for gaine. The difference between thoſe two Prophets conſiſted in this, that[a] *Terræ vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturæ Sibyllam. Pythia had it inſpired or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibilles had it by nature.* Now, becauſe the number of Oracles, and the ſuperſtition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens* than in any other part of the world, It may not be amiſſe to ſpeak ſomewhat of the moſt noted of them, *viz. Pythium, Dodonæum.* and *Jupiter Hammon's.*

[a] Cic. l. 1. de Divin.

CAP. I.

De Oraculo Pythio.

THE moſt noted of the three Oracles was the firſt. It was called *Pythium*, for the ſame reaſon that the Woman was called *Pythia. i. e.* either from *Python* the ſerpent, that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came, afterward killed by *Apollo*, who poſſeſſed the place by conqueſt. Or from *Pytho* another name of *Delphos* the place of this Oracle, which came from *Pythus* the ſonne of *Delphis*, the ſonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to diſtribute Oracles to all the body of Greece as the *navil* is to diſtribute nouriſhment to the body of a child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it μεσόμφαλον μαντῖον; becauſe it was ὀμφαλὸς the *Navill*, or *Umbilicus* the mid'ſt of *Greece*, (ſaies *Strabo*) and not of the *World* as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio poſiti*. And this they came to know forſooth, by the two *Eagles* (ſaies *Pindar*,) *Crowes* ſaies ſome, and others *Swans* which being let fly by *Jupiter*, met both in that place. Nay in alluſion to that name of Ὀμφαλὸς (by which it was commonly called) *Pauſanias* ſaies there was to be ſeen in the Temple a Navill made of white ſtone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the Navill ſtring. But *Lactantius* had rather derive it from ὀφὴ the Oracle. And *Varro* would by no means yeild to have it derived from the Navill, *quoniam neque locus is ſit terrarum medius, neque umbilicus ſit in homine medius.* But the latter reaſon is deſeated by *Vitruvius*,

or by any one elſe. The firſt beginner of the Oracle (ſome ſay was *Tellus*, φωτόμαντις γαῖα: and ſome *Themis*.

Η φώτη κατέδειξε βροτοῖς μαντήϊον ἀγνόν.

The firſt beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, comming to a den very large below, with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a ſuddain fell a leaping and making a ſtrange noiſe. He that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) ſeeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the ſame frolicke; but propheſied too. And thus it fared with divers others, that came thither to the ſame purpoſe. Nay a great many, with the *breath* ἔδαφος δυμένιον, or *anhelitus terræ* (as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the earth, *expired*. Inſomuch that afterward they ſet a *Three-footed ſtool* upon the hole, and a Maid upon it conſecrated for a Prieſteſſe, whoſe common name was *Pythia*, and her *office* to put the Oracle into verſe and deliver it out. For (ſaies *Plutarch*, the words are hers, *only Apollo* Τὰς φαντασίας παύσας. ἡρώησεν τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ſate in under blowing with the bellows to ſet her a *peeping* or a *whiſpering* like thoſe מצפצפים in *Iſaiah*. c. 8. v. 19. Where he ſpeaks of ſuch ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, or *belly* Prophets that *peep* and *mutter*; ſuch as the *Pythia* was, out of whoſe belly the Divel ſpake his propheſies with a ſmall peeping voice like a childs. But that Prophet in another place comes neerer to us, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt ſpeak out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt, and thy voice ſhall be as one that hath a familiar ſpirit, out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall whiſper out of the duſt*. Now ſome ſay the *Tripus* whereof I ſpake was a pot filled with *duſt*, thorow which the *afflatus*, the wicked *inſpiration* was to paſſe into the belly of the Wench, and ſo to go forth at her mouth for an Oracle. And therefore it is that thoſe Prophets, which in thoſe times had a familiar ſpirit within them, were commonly called by the name of ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, and πυθόμαντις, as well as πύθωνες, and a Εὐρυκλῆς, the manner of her ſitting, &c. when ſhe took the ſpirit in, becauſe it may not ſo fitly be expreſſed in Engliſh, I deſire to give you it in the words of the

As I have heard he lately did in a poſſeſſed Chriſtian in the Town of Barwick. Ch. 29. v. 4.

Plutarch. de Orac. defec. c And Euryclidæ from Eurycles a Prophet of that name.

Scholiaſt;

d *Scholiast*, Ἐπιφθεγξαμένη τὸ τρίποδι ᾠ διαρῦσα τὸ σχέλη πυθοῖν κύ- d Aristoph. πωδον σπεῦμα διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς ἐδίηχετο μορίων, ᾠ τὰς τρίχας λύσασα, ᾠ in Avid. ἀφρὸν ἐκ τῦ στόμα ῥιπτοῦσα ᾠ μαίνεσα, τὰς σαρκίας, ἢ μᾶλλον μαιμῶ ἐσθίγγετο. She was no sooner inſpired, but ſhe fell a tearing her hair, and running round, foaming at the mouth, & cutting her fleſh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus ſpeaks of their geſtures. *Sectis namque humeris & utraq; manu diſtrictos gladios exerentes currunt, efferuntur, inſaniunt,* But this peeping may not make me prepoſterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the Wench and the *Tripus*. The firſt Maids name that propheſied in that place, was *Phanomene*. All the reſt were young Virgins, as ſhe was, till *Echecrates*, a Theſſalian, deflowred *Phœbas*, and then they made choice of Women of fifty years of age, but made them go in the habit of a Virgin. The a cuſtome of thoſe Virgins was, before they went to *ſtool*: to waſh their bodies, and eſpecially their hair in the fountain *Caſtalius* (where the Poëts, a people of the like inſpiration, and *Vates* too were uſed to waſh)

a σχ. on Eurip. Phœn.

—κόμας ἐμὰς λοῦσα— when they ſate firſt on the ſtool, they uſed to ſhake b the Laurel-tree that grew cloſe by the *Tripus*, and ſometimes to take the leaves and chew in their mouths, as *Lucian* ſaies μασωμένη δάφνην, for ſo other ſuch Women uſed to do, and therefore *Lycophron* calls *Caſſandra* λαμπὰν δαφνοφόρον.

b σχ. on Ariſtoph.

The firſt that came to receive an Oracle from them, was *Parnaſſus*, from whence (ſome ſay) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnaſſus* from λάρναξ *Deucalions Ark* that reſted there; *fides penes autorem*. As for *Tripus* (called by the Latines *Cortina*, whence *Cortinipotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the *cover tripodes Cortina tegit*) It is thought by the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Lyſiſtrate* to have been φιάλη a *Pot* (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Braſſe, but filled with ψῆφοι or *calculi*, *cuts* or Lottery-pellets (uſually put in ſuch pots) whereof thoſe that leapt out of the pot, (ἥλατο) or leapt and danced in it, when any one came to ask, according to the ſignification they bare, made up the anſwer. But it

is rather thought to have been a thing with three legs (after the faſhion of the common ſort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-bord called τρίπους, (as the table-bords were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called ἔνσκιμπτος, and his Wench ἐνόλμια.

I wonder that ever people could ſo much *leoſe themſelves*, as to go to her that would be ſure to put the buſineſſe in a greater queſtion by the anſwer, and make them more to ſeek, than they were before. But that they were reſolved to be fooled, becauſe forſooth *Apollo* is λοξίας *crooked* there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he muſt σκαζειν, be crabbed in his *delivery*, as well as in his *gate*. 'Tis his uſe

Senec. Oed. Act. 2. Sc. 1.

Ambage nexâ Delphico mos eſt deo
Arcana tegere.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon *Æſchylus*, οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ χρήσιμα αὐτῶν ἔφερον μετ' αἰνίγματος γράφειν, in ancient time they made their verſes in riddles. Now the Oracles were delivered commonly in verſe, as he ſaies.

——*dictæ per carmina Sortes.* For *Sortes* they uſually called them, and the Verſe for the moſt part was *Hexameter*, inſomuch that this Oracle,

Σορὸς Σοφοκλῆς. σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης
Ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος,

Was thought to be none of *Pythia's*, becauſe it was not *heroick* enough to become the Author. [a] *Plutarch* ſaies ſome were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpoſe in the Oracle place μίτρα καὶ ῥυθμὸς οἷον ἀγγεῖα τοῖς χρωμένοις παρέχοντες, *to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verſe.* But one reaſon why they delivered their Oracle, in verſe, or in brief, and ſo commonly in obſcurity, was, becauſe the god σφίζειν μὲν οὐ θέλει τὸ ἀληθὲς, not willing to conceale the truth altogether, nor yet deſirous to make it known, was faine to have it delivered in ſuch manner, as no body might take advantage to hurt the ſpeaker, if that anſwer were not according to his mind. 'Tis true in later times it *fell* to proſe (when it began to fall in the price) and the reaſon thereof has

[a] De Pythiæ Oracul.

has been ſufficiently diſputed already by *Plutarch* in a Treatiſe of purpoſe.

The eſteem which they had of thoſe Oracles, was ſuch; that in times of Warre, when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perſwade the ſouldiers to fight. For they might very well be of *Tireſias* his mind, who though he were an *Entrail gazer* himſelf, yet in *Euripides* you ſhall have him confeſſing to *Creon*, that *men were ſo apt to ſpeak contrary to what they know, either out of ill will, or for fear, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, beſides* Apollo's *own.* Polyænus l. 2. 27.

—— Φοίβου ἀνθρώπους μόνους
Χρὴ θεσπιῳδεῖν, ὃς δίδωσιν εἰδέναι,

And yet it is cleare, that the Woman or ſome body elſe was naught, and *corrupted* very often. *Tully* when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculorum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuiſſet, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atque regum, niſi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem eſſet experta*, afterward comes in with a *ſamdiu idem non fecit*: But indeed, *ſhe has not been thus a long time.* Nay for three hundred years (I think) before *his* time *Demoſthenes* could complain ſhe did φιλιππίζειν, flatter and ſpeak, as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time ſhe was bribed by *Cliſthenes*, to perſwade the *Lacedemonians* to free the *Athenians* from the *Tyrants*: and another time by *Cleomenes*, to perſwade them to deprive his Colleague *Demaratus* of his place. Neither would *Lycophron* call *Apollo* Χαῦνον δόκον for nothing. Plutarch de Herodot.

But you will ſay ſome other body might play the knave, and put it upon her. And likely enough. For ſo *Cicero* thinks they did in that anſwer reported to be given by *Apollo* to *Pyrrhus*, *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere poſſe.* And that, Firſt, becauſe *Apollo* did not ſpeak in Latine. 2ly, Becauſe none of the Greek writers mention any ſuch thing. And 3ly, Becauſe the Oracles were not given in verſe in *Pyrrhus* his time. L. 2 de Divin.

CAP. II.

De Templo Delphico, de Theoriis, & Oraculi cessatione.

ALL this while I have said nothing of the Temple, for feare of saying too little. So famous and so rich as it was with the gifts or ἀναθήματα, of most of the Princes or people in the world; insomuch that *Aphetoriæ opes*, so said from Ἀφίητορ the name of *Apollo*, who was *emissor Oraculorum*, hath been used as a proverb for *abundance of wealth*, I have read of *five* Temples erected in the same place at several times. The first was of Laurell-boughs fetcht from *Tempe fields*. The second of *Wax* and *Feathers*, or else faigned to be made ἐκ πτερῶν of wings, because the mans name was Pteras that built it. The third of Brasse (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minervæ* χαλκιοίκου.) This, some say, was molten to the ground; others, that it was swallowed up by Earth quake. The fourth, of stone, destroyed by fire the first year of the fifth *Olympiad*. The fifth, built by the *Amphictions* out of the holy treasure in a very steep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be said concerning the temple, and the E. I. in the frontispice, the reason whereof is disputed by [a] *Plutarch.* but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Customs, which the *Athenians* (the devoutest servants of *Apollo*) used in sending to him: either to *Delphos*, or to *Delos*, to do him honour, or to ask his advice. The occasion of sending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing some arduous affaires; or for delivery from sickness, or the like. When they went thither, they were said ἀναβαίνειν, when they returned again καταβαίνειν. The ceremonies used in sending Embassies *extraordinary* to *Delphos*, were neer the same with those that were *ordinarily* used in the *Delia*-feast once a year, and they were these. Those that were sent were called sometimes Δηλιασταί, from the feast; sometimes Θεωροί (like Hebrew *seers*) a name suitable to that of *Apollo* Σκοπός in *Pindar* (*Pyth. γ.*) which some notwithstanding interpret

Pausan. in Phoc.

[a] περὶ τοῦ E. I. τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς.

interpret to be his Index, or his *Angel* the *Crow*. He that had the ordering of the businesse was called Ἀρχιθέωρος. There were also sent along with them Κήρυκες Μυστικοί, two that were to be Θεῶροι, or *Epulones* at *Delos* for that yeare. The ship in which they went, was first to be adorned with Garlands by the Priest of *Apollo*, and so were the messengers too on the [b] head, the brow, and the neck, τὸ ὑμενῶδες ἡ τεμαχὶς ψυχῆς, in allusion *to the three parts of the soul*. The ship was likewise called Θεωρὶς, and sometimes Δηλιάς. It was wont to be *Theseus* his, in which the Boyes were brought, that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at such time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he instituted the plaies, and the solemnity celebrated by the aforesaid *Deliastæ*, when they came to *Delos*. This very ship the *Athenians* kept for his sake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις εἰς τὸν αὐξανόμενον λόγον ἀμφισβητούμενον παράδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον εἶναι, ὅτι μένει, ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένει λεγόντων, *Insomuch* (saies Plutarch) *that Philosophers use to illustrate that opinion, that the body remains still the same notwithstanding the continual decay, by this similitude*. Besides this, there were four more *naves sacræ*, viz. the *Paralus*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemaïs*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were *sent* for the keeping of the feast and the Sacrifice, were called τομπαῖα. For when they came thither, first they [a] Sacrificed: and then the Maids sent thither from several places, fell a dancing a strange kind of dance about the Altar, which they called Γέρανον, πυμαιρόμεν οἱ *Gruem* the *Crane*: wherein, their motions being crooked like the Cranes neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings and windings of the Minotaurs Labyrinth, beating the Altar, and biting at a bush of Olives, with their hands behind them (as our boys do at *snap-apple*) if so much be imported in the words of *Callimachus*.

[b] Ξανθὰ δ' ἐρεψάμενοι δάφνῃ κροτάφους καὶ πρόσθε μέτωπα. Apollonius. l. 2. Argon.

[a] Ἐμπύεσις.

Thucid. l. 5.

Pind. Olym. H.

Πεζὴ μὲν ἀπὸ Δωμὸν ἴσαν πλαγίην ἐλίκεσσι,
Ῥωσόμενον δ' ἀφέμεναι οἶδαν πάσαις ἀγρίην ἐλάτῃς
Χεῖρες ἀποστίψασαι, &c.

Hymn. in Del.

The Altar was Κεράτινος βωμὸς, and therefore called Κερατὼν because it was made by *Apollo* at four years old, of the *horns* of the Goats, which his sister *Diana* killed a hunting upon

upon *Cynthius* hill. The horns were all of the left side, saith *Plut. in Theseo.* And yet in his book *de Solertia Animalium*, 'tis τῆ δεξιᾶν. Whether it should be rendered of the right *side*, or *right*, that is fit or handsome, I know not. But so strangely were these hornes joyned together without any Cement, glue or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the *seven strange sights*, Ἐν τοῖ ἑπτὰ καλουμένοις θαύμασι, as *Ovid* saies,

Miror & innumeris structam de cornibus aram.

During all these holy dayes no malefactor was to suffer punishment. By which meanes *Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty dayes, ἕως ἂν ἡ θεωρὶα ἐκ Δήλου ἀφικηται, saith *Xenophon.* When the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeisance as they passed by, which made him complaine so in *Euripides.*

In Hippol.

Οὐ γὰρ πεμ' ὰς θεωρὸν ἀξιοῖ δόμοις
Πύλας ἀνίξας εὐτρεπῶς προσστατεῖν.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to cease, is uncertaine: Some say, *Alexander* put it down. But it appears to have flourished after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceased as soon as men had wit enough to advise themselves, without seeking to him that made it his businesse to cozen them. *Dion* saies, it was *Nero* murthered the men at the hole, When it left *Delphos* it went to the[a] *Hyperborean Scythians*: for *Aharis* a Scythian one of *Apollo's* Priests, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The *Athenians* when all Greece was infected with the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vows and prayers in the name of the rest. And it was their fashion to send gifts and offerings thither, as they had done to *Delphos.* But what need we doubt of the time or the cause, since we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* asserts,

a Pulcher Apollo Lustrat Hyperboreas. Delphis ces. santibus aras Claudian.

——*Ex quo hominis* Deus *induit artus,*
Delphica damnatis tacuerunt sortibus antra.
Non Tripodas Cortina tegit, non spumat anhelus
Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona *vapores*
Nec responsa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.

The

The Oracle place, (τὸ μαντεῖον, or χρηστήριον) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have been at first a kind of *School* for the family of *Cham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abused by the Devil to this deluſion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almoſt inacceſſible for *heat*, as that place at Delphos was for *height*. *Dodona's* Grove is thought to have been ſuch another *School*, *viz.* for the off-ſpring of *Dodonaim*, Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a pair of Doves, that ſhould come from Ægypt, one of which pitcht upon a Beech tree in *Epirus*, and there uſing the voyce of a man, among other good inſtructions, gave order for the building of a Temple in that place, which was done by *Deucalion* after his ſhip came thither (while I ſpeak of theſe things, I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Arke, and his Dove) beſides the building of the City *Dodona*, nigh unto which this Oracle was. Theſe two Oracles are reckoned the moſt *ancient* of all, and of theſe two, the laſt. Τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον τοῦτο τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ ἱδρύσατο καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἐλλάδι χρηστήριον. And therefore a word or two more of it than I thought. It is conceived by moſt, that thoſe *Doves* were certain Women prieſts or Prophets, fetcht from *Ægypt* (the Mart of ſuperſtition) by the *Phœnicians* firſt, and from them convey'd into *Theſſaly*. Now in the *Theſſalian* language, the ſame word which ſignifies a Dove, is uſed alſo to ſignifie a Propheteſs, ὁ μάντις. *Euſtathius* ſayes, that in the *Theſſalian* tongue *old Women* were called πέλειαι, and *old Men* πέλειοι, and that thoſe Propheteſſes being three old women, whoſe names were *Promenia*, *Timarete*, & *Nicandre*, either by miſtake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly ſuppoſed to be Doves. The ſame Author alſo ſayes, that perhaps thoſe women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greeks would ſcarce allow to be men & women) for their rude brutiſh language might have bin counted as ſo many birds. But it ſeems to have been no ſuch ſtrange thing in ancient times, for Propheteſſes to have the name of Doves. And therefore *Lycophron* Calls *Caſſandra* by the name φάτιν Πελειάδος, though in another place ſhe have the name of a more tatling Bird, *viz.*

Herodot.

In Ill. ξ.

63

χελιδόνα, the Swallow. The Scholiast upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachinia*) hath another conjecture more, besides that which I named last, viz. That these Prophetesses had the name of πελειάδες; or rather, if you will, the old women, therefore had the name of πέλειαι, because they were πελειοποίκιλοι gray-haired and aged.

Strabo speaks of four Priests called Ἕλλοι ἐν ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δωδωναίου, from the *Sons* neer the Temple, viz. of *Jupiter* surnamed *Tomurus*, which was a name common also to the Priests. *Homer* calls them Σελλοί, saying

— ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
Ναίουσιν δ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπόδητοι χαμαιεῦναι.

They used not to wash their feet, and lay upon the ground when they slept. When they gave answer, they got them amidst the boughs, and so the Oracle was thought to come from the Oakes, when it came but from *between* them. They are called προφῆται ὕδατος, and μαντεῖαι ὕδατος, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lycophron* called [a] λάλητον κλεινὰν. Round about the Temple stood Basons of Brasse, one just against the other. Ἑνὸς γὰρ κινηθέντος, saith *Eustathius*, of which if you struck but one, all the rest would cry, and make such a noyse, that at length *Ex Dodonæum* became a Proverb. Belike they used to strike the Basons as they used to do other Basons and Pots, with a Ring held by a thread in the hand, and striking the sides of the vessel so many times, to make Divination by the sounds.

[a] Cœco Tomuri jovis augure luco Arbore præsagâ tabulas animâsse Loquaces. *Claudian.*

CAP. III.

De Divinatione per somnium, super Melotas in Templis, cum observatione dicta.

PRophesying by a *Dream*, was either ὀνειρόκριτον, *Somniatorii*, of a *Dreamer* of *Dreams*, or ὀνειροκρίτου *Conjectoris*, of an *Interpreter* of Dreams, such as *Hecuba* spake of, when she said ἀνὴρ νοῦν ἔχων ὀνειροπόλος. The latter of these surely belongs to the technical part of divination, and may be reckoned for

an

an *Art*, as well as any other sort of *Ariolation*. For he that shall object that speaking but *sometimes* true, does not argue skill, because *si sæpe jactaverit, quandoque veneram jacies*, in *Cicero's* opinion may be answered with this question, *Quæ tandem id ars non habet?* Besides if it were no Art, what talk we of *Xenophon's* Dream in his service with *Cyrus*; or how came it, that there were so many books written of this subject? For, to say nothing of [a] eleven more that wrote of purpose of it, nor of the Treatise περὶ ἐνυπνίων reported by [b] *Plutarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his books, *Artemon Milesius* wrote two and twenty books of it himself; and there is a very pretty copy of about fourscore *Senarii* Verses in Greek, touching the signification of such or such a sight in a Dream. But the Dream (you must understand) was not every ὄναρ, or *vain* dream (for so does the Etymology import, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀντως ἀνδὸς ἄρχειν, saies *Eustathius*) but ὄναρ, or ὄνειρος, a *morning dream*; fresh and fasting, such as ὄναρ is, saith [c] *Homer*, which they derive ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀψὲ ἄρχειν, which comes about waking time, or ὄνειρος which they derive ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴρειν, and of such is that of *Orpheus* in the *Hymn*; Ἀγγελε μελλόντων θνητοῖς χρησμὸν ὀνείρων. I believe few that read me are such as *Plutarchs Thrasymeda*, or *Plinies Atlantes*, that never dreamt of a dream, and therefore I will make bold to detain them the longer. It is variously conjectured who was the first *conjectour* in this kind: *Pliny* saies, *Amphictyon*, *Deucalion's* son; *Philo Judæus*, *Abraham*; *Trogus Pompeius*, *Joseph*; *Pausanias* would have it to be *Amphiaraus*; whom he reports to have been deified for his skill, and that they used to sacrifice to him, when they looked for a dream. they talk that the people that lived neer *Borysthenes*, and the *Gades*, were excellent at this work; and so were those that lived at the [b] *Hiblæ*, two Cities so named in *Sicily*. But among all, the *old doting women* were best at it.

Quæ mihi non decies somnia verſat anus.

When they desired to dream a prophetical dream, sometimes they would sacrifice a Ram to *Amphiaraus*, and sleep upon the fleece. For thus the *Daunii* used to do in the Temple

[a] Iladr. Jun. animad.

[b] In Pompeio.

[c] Οὐ γὰρ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἰδρλόν, ὅπτι τετλεσμένον ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον. Hom. Odyss. T.

[a] Lib. 7. Cap. 5.

[b] Pausan. Elia. Propertius L. 2. El. 4.

ple of *Chalchus*. So likewise the *Calabri* used their *melota* *sheep-skins*, or fleeces, to sleep upon at the Sepulchre of *Podalirius*. And it seems, it was a common practice both for dreaming; for *Virgil* also sayes,

—Cæsarum ovium sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit.

And also for *purifying* a polluted person in the *Eleusinian* and other sacrifices: for they took the skins of beasts that had been sacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of Διὸς κώδια) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was no small use of fleeces and skins in several other businesses; as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I told you) sate upon a fleece for a cushion, to shew her purpose *Lanificio intendere* of spinning and carding. The *Scythians* play'd mad tricks with skins. For among them, if a man had been wronged, and need of help to revenge himself, he would sacrifice an Ox, and cut the flesh into pieces and boyl it, and sit upon the skin with his hands behind him, and so beg for help. Then came his friends, and every one taking a piece of the flesh, and setting his right foot on the skin, promised either men or arms, or what he best could. Such ceremonies as these, they accounted a fast engagement, and much conducing to the successe. Sometimes they would go and sleep in the Temple with Laurel, or some such fragrant stuff tyed about their heads, and sacrifice to a *Brizo*, the goddesse of the *dreamers*, so called from βρίζειν to *sleep*. The *Lacedemonians* kept men of purpose to *sleep* in the Temple of *Pasithia*, to watch for dreams. So if any were *sick* they would go and sleep in the Temple of *Æsculapius* to *dream of a remedy*, (as they have used to do with us, to go watch at the Church door, to know who should dye next) *Pluto* in *Aristophanes* did so.

κατακλινοῦμαι τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν ἐνταῦθα.

And the like was wont to be done in *Ægypt* in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has sufficiently declared the vanity of all these doings in saying,

Non dubium nobis, nec ab alto numina mittunt

Sed

c Εναγίζουσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς μέλασι τῶν προβάτων. οἱ δὲ Χαλκῆνοι μαντεύονται ἐγκοιμώμενοι τοῖς τοῦ Ποδαλειρίου δέρμασι. Strabo l. 6. Ox. Rodig.

a Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ βρίζειν καὶ ὑπνοῦν ἐν ὀνείρῳ μάντις Athenæus l. 8. Sat. 6.

Sed ſibi quiſque facit.

Beſides all this they tooka ſpeciall care of their diet, ſo as to faſt for *one* day before, and abſtain from wine for *three*: as likewiſe to forbeare eating Beanes or raw fruit. *Ariſtotle* ſaies, there is no credit to be given ὀνειροπομποῖς ἐνυπνίοις, to *dreams in the Autumn*. But *Plutarch* queſtions that again, and ſayes if we eat good and ripe fruit, ἢν ἰσχὺ κ' πεπτικὴ ᾖ, καὶ ψυχὴν ἐνυπνίοις εὐπορῶμεν, *our dreams will be the truer*. Fiſh, either they counted very good, or very bad For when they ſacrificed to *Briza*, they offered boats full of all manner of things but Fiſh, whether it were to pleaſe the goddeſſe with the ſparing of the beſt thing, or the rejection of the worſt, I cannot tell. [b] *Plutarch* obſerves that the head of a *Polypus* is as *ſoure* in the *dream*, as 'tis ſweet in the *taſte* and therefore compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately uſed. Some choice there was alſo of the *colour* of their Cloathes. For the whiteſt and cleareſt was beſt, κάλλιστα λευκὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ ἐν ὑπνίοις φαίνεται, ſayes *Suidas*: as if Dreams and Viſions muſt needs be the *clearer*. The trueſt dreams (ἐνύπνια) or the cleareſt viſions, were either a little after it was day, or toward the morning (the former time [a] *Homer* calls νυκτὸς ἀμολγὸς, *the milking time in the Morning*, in oppoſition to ἡμέρας ἀμολγὸς *the milking time in the Evening*)

—ἔγγυθι δ' ἠοῦς
Ἐστι κελώρεια πομπιλίη θ' ὑπάειρε.

ſaies *Theocritus*: and [b] *Ovid* was of the ſame mind. *Pliny* ſayes a dream is never true preſently after eating & drinking. But *Artemedorus* ſayes 'tis all one for that, ἐπὶ αἰ ἄμπτοι τροφαὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ παρίχωσιν ἰσχὺν τὸ ἐνύπνιον, for if *you eat too much, the dream will never be the truer, if it tarry till morning*.

[a] Ὡς εἰ ἀναγὲς ὄνειρον ἐπίσπῃ τὸ νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ. Odyſſ. δ

[b] Namque ſub aurora jam dormitante lucerna Tempore quo cerni ſomnia vera ſolent.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De duabus portis.

SO great difference there was in Dreams, that they were fain to make two diſtinct doors for them to come in by, one of Horn, and another of Ivory. For thus much *Penelope* her ſelf could tell *Ulyſſes* (when ſhe deſired him to interpret her dreams)

Odyſſ. τ. Δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων
Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι.

Auſonius ſaies as much, telling you which are the true, and which the falſe,

In Ephemer *Et geminas numera portas quæ fornice eburno*
Semper fallaces glomerans ſuper aëra ſomnos,
Altera quæ veros emittit cornea viſus.

And I have heard of ſome Chriſtians that have believed the ſame: *Philoſtratus* ſaies, that in alluſion to theſe doors, they uſed to picture a dream with a white garment upon a black, and a *Horn* in his hand. The door for the *true* dreams was of *Horn*.

Nonnus, dion. δ'. Ἀτλαντιάδος προπάροιθε δ' ἐυκτιτὸν πυλεῶνος.

(Surely this was made of the horns of the Ram when they ſlept upon the fleece. Of which before) the door for the *falſe* and *deceitful* dreams, was of Ivory, ſuch as that wherewith *Morrheus* was cozened within the Poet,

Nonn. Μόρφεα δ' ὑπὸ νύκτερα περήπυεν ὄψις ὀνείρου
Κλιθίνοων ἐλέφαντος ἀναίξαντος πυλάων.

Lucian therefore jeers the covetous *Micyllus* for wiſhing his *dream-door* were of *Gold*, whereas there were but thoſe two in all, as may be gathered by theſe words in *Plato*.

a In Charmide. Ἀεὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄναρ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦν, εἴ τι δὴ ἐλέφαντος ἐλήλυθεν.

The reaſon of thoſe names, I find very prettily gueſſed at by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* at the place above commended, and I ſhall deſire your patience to tell them. Firſt, the true (ſayes he) comes by the Horn-door, [illegible] χρυσοῦ: becauſe τῶ

τὸ ἔνυπνα κεραίνειν, or κραίνειν, that is, *effectum reddunt*, they say no more than comes to passe, whereas those that came in by the Ivory door, or ἐξαλαίνουσι, ἀλαοσκοποῦσι, or ἀλαωπεύουσι, delude the dreamer with a fruitlesse hope of truth. 2ly κεραίνειν σαφῶς the *coming in by the Horn* is as much as coming *clearly*, for one may see through horn, if it be made thin: ἀλαοσκοπεῖν, the other *confusedly*, for one cannot see through Ivory, nor any other such white things, as milk or the like, if they be never so little, and so [b] *Macrobius* does Interpret it too. 3ly, By the κέρας is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or κατὰ τὸ μέρος χιτών, *cornea tunica*, the first coat of the eye. And by the ἐλέφας the mouth, or the *Ivory-coloured* teeth, ἐλεφαντόχρους ὀδόντες, and so the meaning must be, that which is to be *seen* with the *eye* is likelyer, than that which is but *said* to be so from the *teeth*. And this was also the opinion of *Servius* concerning the same fiction, upon those words of *Virgil*,

Sunt Geminæ somni portæ, &c.

4ly. By the *Horn-dore*, may be meant the passage for the more Heavenly and Diviner sort of dreames, κρέσσονες ὄνειροι, διὰ κεράτων: by the other, the entrance for the χθόνιοι: the more earthly, grosse, and confused, Because the Elephants *Proboscis* turnes downeward towards the earth, whereas the hornes of other beasts lookt upward toward Heaven 5ly. Ἐλέφαντος, is the door of the false dreams, because, there can be no other but false dreams expected, when the *teeth* have eaten too much.

The Guests which are to come in by these doors, were thought to be *Ghosts* and *Spirits* from Hell. *Umbræ*, *shadows* they might well be: and such as ascend in a *fume* too like Furies from the nether part of the body. Againe, as Ghosts are —ψυχὴ ὀνείρου, said to fly in and out like dreams, [a] and death is a sleep: so dreams are said to fly in and out like Ghosts, and sleep is a death. *Lycophron* calls them νυκτίπολα δαίμονα, *Night-walking Bug-beares*. Fly they did with *black wings*, like Batts of the night: and therefore *Euripides* calls a dream μελανοπτέρυγα, *Orpheus* ζαρκοπτέρυγα, *Lucian* πτηνόν.

If

[b] Speaking of Isaiah. *Hoc velamen cum in quiete ad verum usque aciem animæ introsicientis admittit de cornu creditur, ejus ista natura est, ut enutum visui pervium fit, cum autem à vero habitat ac repellit, obtusum, ebur putatur cujus &c. lic. 3. in Somnium. Scip.*

[a] Homer. Odyss. ψ.

If this be ſo, the reaſon, why before they went to bed, when they meant to dream, they uſed to ſacrifice a Victime, to *Mercury*, was, it may be, not ſo much becauſe of his *Rod*, with which he brought people aſleep, and awakened them again, as becauſe he was Gentleman-uſher of the Ghoſts: for what reaſon ſoever it was, it ſeems *Mercury* was moſt in their minds when they were ready to ſleep: and therefore as at feaſts, ſo at other times, the laſt of their prayers was to him, and the laſt health that went round was his. For ſo we find *Calaſiris* in *Heliodorus*, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, &c. After he had prayed to all the reſt of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for εὐόνειρον νύκτα, *a night of good dreams*. Hence was it that they uſed to faſten [a] εἰκόνας, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of Ἑρμῆνες. When they ſacrificed that *victime*, they uſed to take the tongue and [b] burn it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all tongues and ſpeech to be conſecrated, ὡς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἑρμηνέως ἱερὸν, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*. With whom agrees *Athenæus*, προσνέμων) ἢ αὐτῷ τὰ γλώσσαις διὰ τὴν Ἑρμηνείαν. Others who did not think dreams to be Ghoſts, yet would have them to be put into the heads by Spirits, as *Plato* who thought the aire to be full of ſuch things. And ſo *Democritus* (as the Scholiaſt reports, who ſayes that he had it from *Homer* himſelfe) thought that men dreamt this or that dream [c] κατ' ἐπιχύσεις καὶ ἐμπάσεις, or as [d] *Plutarch* has it from the ſame man) κατὰ διαχύσεις καὶ εἰδώλων, *according to this or that compoſition or ſeparation of Images or Ghoſts, or Phancies*, or ſomewhat. But indeed I think thoſe εἴδωλα, ſhould not be ſo much Images as Imaginations, nor ſo much *umbræ* Ghoſts, as *adumbrationes*, *Images* and *Species* in the phancy proceeding from the *ſpirits* within, and not from thoſe without.

[a] L. 3. Suidas

[b] σχ. in Odyſſ. 12.

[c] Plut.

[d] In Odyſſ. 24

[a] De Placit. Philoſ.

CAP.

CAP. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum lustratione.

FOR their *descent*, they thought all dreams to have one common mother the *Earth*, χθὼν μήτηρ ἐνύπνων, saies *Euripides*. And the Scholiast upon him gives the reason, ἐκ μὲν γῆς αἱ τροφαὶ, ἐκ δὲ τροφῆς οἱ ὕπνοι, ἐκ δὲ ὕπνων οἱ ὀνειροι, because *from the earth comes meat, from meat sleep, and from sleep dreams.* Some indeed thought, they were from *Hecate*, (and so they may come from the earth still.) And some from the *Moon*, which was all one, and suited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the *Kind* of Dreams, *Macrobius* makes five, *viz.* 1. Φάντασμα, 2. Ἐνύπνιον, 3. ὅραμα, 4. Ὄραμα, 5. Χρηματισμός. Others divided them into ὑποφητικὸς, and διαῤῥηματικὸς ὀνείρους, διαῤῥηματικοὶ were οἱ τὰ ἴδια τῶν πραγμάτων εἴδη παριστάντες, *when things appeared in their own likenesse.* Ἀλληγορικοὶ were when they appeared in the likenesse of *other* things; when one thing was dreamt and another meant, Such as *Cæsar's* was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and so was informed *Imperium orbis terræ portendi, quæ cunctorum viventium sit mater*, that the whole earth, the mother of every living thing was to be *under* him. Nay the distinction of dreams was so accurate, that in the making of them, *Somnus* was fained to have no lesse than three servants to wait upon him For if he would have a dreame that should concern *men*, he made use of *Morpheus*, if *beasts*, of *Phobetor* (as *men* called him) or *Icelas* (as the *gods* called him) *Fit fera, fit volucris—* Ovid. Met. l. 11: f. 10.
if inanimate creatures (*quæque vacant animâ.*)
of him that had the name of *Phantasos*. (I wonder how he could remember all the shapes, and the river of *Lethe* spring in his house, and his house be as darke a den as any among the *Cimmerii*, for so it is fained to be.)

But after all this doting about a dream, is there any remedy, if I meet with none of the best? Yes by all meanes, as soon as

I ariſe, be ſure to tell it to *Veſta*, or ſome other houſhold *ſtuff. diis penatibus.*

Vadit & hinc caſtæ narratum ſomnia Veſtæ
Quæ ſibi, quæque mihi non nocitura forent.

Propert. l. 2. Eleg. 29. Or if you think this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo averruncus*, called by them ἀποτρόπαιον, ἀλεξίκακον, or προσκυνήσιον, becauſe his Image uſed to ſtand in the *Porches*. Some had rather to doe it to *Hercules*, and ſome to *Jupiter*, as he does in *Plautus*: But there is better reaſon why they ſhould

In Electr. do it to the *Sun*, viz. ἐναντίος ἐστὶν ὁ ἥλιος τῇ νυκτὶ ἀποτρέπειν ἐργάζηται, &c. *Becauſe the Sun being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evills brought by the ſame.* They are the words of the Scholiaſt upon that of *Sophocles*

Eurip. in Hec. —ἥλιος δ' ἄκτινι τ' ἔαρι, &c. They called this action ἀποτίμπλασθαι, ἀποδιαπομπεύεσθαι, and ἀποτρέπεσθαι ἔννυχον ὄψιν, but moſt properly, ἀποτροπιάζεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον. It was practiſed by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when ſhe had dreamt of the fall of the houſe: although ſhe (or the Poet) had ſo much wit as to think it to be to little purpoſe.

Idem in Taur. v. 43. Ἀχρεῖα δ' ὄψεις νύξ φερεσκάθαρτα
Λέζω σφὸς αὐδὰς· εἶτα δὲ τλὰς' ἐγὼ ἁλὸς,

If you thinke that this will not doe neither, try a third remedy, goe make a prayer and waſh your ſelfe luſtily in the cold River till you ſweat.

Sil. Ital. l. 8. *—— ſub lucem ut viſa ſecundent.*
Ore cælicolas, & vivo purgor in amne.

Or if the River water be not good enough, go to the fountain, as he did in * *Æſchylus.*

* In Perſis. Ἐπὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων χθονὸς κελαινοῤῥόου
Ἐξωπα πηγῆς οὐ δυνατὸν πλεῖ
Βωμῶν προσῖσιν ἀπὸ θυηπολείοις δ' αἵμασιν
Θέλγεται δύστις φίλαιμον

If you think no *cold* water will do it, call for *hot*, as he does in *Ariſtophanes.*

In Ranis. —ἐκ πατάνων ἑρῶσαν ἄγετε
Θέρμετε δ' ὕδωρ
Ὡς ἀν θᾶττον ὀγκήσομαι ἀπολούσασα.

But

But perhaps no kind of *freſh* water is ſtrong enough; you may do well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they uſed to waſh away not only the evil of a dream, but of a crime, or diſeaſe, or any thing elſe: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into *Ægypt*, being troubled with the falling ſickneſs, was bid by the Prieſt, to bath himſelf in the ſea, and being by that meanes cured, he preſently gave this commendation of it,

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά

So I remember *Plutus* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for recovery of his ſight. After murther (for other ſins they ſcarce thought great enough) *to caſt hot water* was a common practice; and then no fear of the diſpleaſure of a god for the future.

λυμαδ' ἀγνίσας ἁμᾶ
Μῆνιν βαρεῖαν ἐξιάσεσθαι θεᾶς.

De divinatione artificioſâ, & primâ, de Ornithomantiâ.

SECT. II.

THE *Technical* part of Divining, *artificioſũ genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, conſiſted eſpecially in the obſerving of birds, and the Entrails of Beaſts Beſides which were σύμβολα or κληδόνες ominous words, or things σύμβολα ἐνύδια, κλῆρες lots, τέρατα ſights, and indeed ἄπειρα μύρια (as the Scholiaſt ſaith upon *Homer*) infinite many more: but the two firſt were every where moſt in uſe. *Quæ eſt autem gens, aut quæ civitas, quæ non aut extis pecudum aut Augurum, aut ſortium prædictione moveatur?* In the firſt the *Phrygians*, *Cicilians*, *Arabians*, *Piſidians*, and the *Umbrians* excelled. The *Lacedemonians* had ſo great eſteem of it, that every King had his Augur to adviſe him, as well as the Senate. It was firſt invented, (ſaith *Pliny*) by one *Car*, *Auguria ex avibus invenit Car, à quo Caria nomen habet: adjecit ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus.* Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*: ſo that he proved exceeding uſeful to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only ſhewing them how they ſhould pacify *Diana* detaining

Il. A. Cicer. I. 1. Divin. L. 7. c. 55.

detaining the ships at *Aulis*, and *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling the number of years that the war should last, by the number of Sparrows destroyed by the Serpent in the nest, as *Cicero* renders the verses.

Nam quot aves tetro mactatus dente videtis
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos
Quæ decimo cadit, & pœna satiabit Achivos.

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for grief, because he could not tell how many Pigs were in the belly of a Sow (say some) or how many Figs upon the Fig tree (saith *Hesiod*) which *Mopsus*, with whom he contested, was able to tell. The name they called it by was, ὀρνιθομαντία, or οἰωνιστικὴ, It was οἰωνιστικὴ at first with an *omicron*, according to *Plato*, as being ἐν τῷ νῦν χ διανοίας ποιεζωωμένη ἀνθρωπίνη οἴησει: but *now* (saith *Aristides*) they write it with *omega* τὸ ὦ σεμνύνοντες, *to give the better grace to the word*: and it is still used as the old word was, for any kind of divination, as ὄρνις and οἰωνὸς a *bird*, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the *Augur's* fashion to wear a white garment (whereas it was Purple, or Scarlet, among the Latines.) and to have οἰωνοσκόπιον his *place* and his *seat* appointed for the purpose, πρὸ δάκεως, or δάκους.

In Antigon. Εἰς γὰ πυλαιὸν δάκον ὀρνιθοσκόπους ἵζον Saies he in *Sophocles*: And the Scholiast upon the word δάκει in *Euripides* saies, it was a place made in *Thebes*, where *Tiresias* used to sit and divine. When they went to it οἱ οἰωνοσκόποι ἐν δάκεσι σημειοῦντο τὰ φαινόμενα (saith the same Scholiast) doubting their *memory* might not suffice, they carried their *Table books* with them, and wrote down the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. This and the *seeing* too *Tiresias* being blind, and only able to *fore-see*, and judge of things as they were told him, was fain to have his daughter to do for him: by which means she her self at length, after the death of her father, became very famous at *Thebes* for her skill in the art. Yea not only the *habit* of the Greek *Augures*, but their manner of observing was different from other people. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis signis?*

Aliter

Aliter obſervant, aliter reſpondent, ſaies *Cicero.* The Greeks accounted the *right ſide* the luckieſt, *Graiis & Barbaris dextra meliora*: the Romans the *left*. Although (to ſpeak the truth) the *ſide* was the ſame, only the *poſture* of the *Augures* was different, For the Grecians looked towards the North, and the Romans toward the ſouth, & the word *ſiniſtra* for *lucky* or *good ſignes*, came not ſo much *à ſiniſtra manu* from the *hands* being left; as a *ſinendo*, from the *man's* being left to his pleaſure to ſet upon his exterprize if he would. So ſaies *Feſtus*: and *Cicero* thus, *Quanquam haud ignoro quæ bona ſunt ſiniſtra nos dicere, etiam ſi dextra ſint.* But yet this was the manner of ſpeech, *viz* For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens alwaies [a] δεξια *right* (and therefore *Statius* may ſeem to have miſtaken, when he ſpake of a Grecian Augury,

[a] Ζεὺς δὲ τοῖς χρωτίσιν ἐσδέξια σήματα φαίνει, ſaies Ajax Hom Il. 10.

b Signa feras levuſque tones—) the Romans ſometimes *dextra*, and ſometime *leva*, but the one *more ſuo*, and the other *more Græco*. *Unluckie* birds (a word uſed among us for an unhappy *wag*) they called [c] ὀξωλαίμους, or ὀξίδρους, when they fled not, or *pitcht* not in their uſual height or place. This laſt word puts me in mind of that ſaying of *Hyppolitus* perhaps in alluſion to it.

[b] Thrb.

—ἰκνοῦμαί σε
Δόμοι παραλλάσσοντες ὀξύδρομοι φρενῶν.

Sometimes they are called κωλύμαι, or κωλυτικὰ *inhibæ*, ἄρκυοι *arculæ*, and ἀνακάλιοι (as in [c] *Apollinius*) ab ἀνακαλέω *revoco*, as who would ſay *non ſiniſtræ*, or *non ſinentia*; as I told you before. And ſuch they commonly counted thoſe that had long talons or ſcratcht their heads as they fled, ſuch (as they ſay) were ſeen upon *Caſſius* his Tent before his defeat: the Latines call them *Volſgræ*. But what? is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy againſt a few paltry birds? yes I have read in [d] *Apuleius* of a trick to kill one or two of the Worſer ſort, and hang them up at the door: as we uſe to doe dead Crowes upon a ſtick in the field, to ſcare the living away: Saies he, *Iſtas nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, ſollicite prehenſas fixibus videmus affigi ut quod infauſtis volatibus familiæ minantur, exitium ſuis luant cruciatibus.* Birds that were

Eurid. Hippol. v. 3934.

[c] In Argo Feſtas. [d] Κίρκον πτερόεσσις ὀτομαλὸν ἔντα ἐν χαλκῷ πλόντα. Sa es Æſchylus.

[d] Metam li. 3. Opus ἰδὼν πνα ἐκ ἐν αἰετοῖς ἕρμας

luckie either in their nature, or the place they appeared in; were called ἄζηλοι, or ἄῤῥησοι, that is, such as were not ἀζήρωι (*unseatly*, or *unsightly* as we use to say) but appeared παρ' οἰκείοις τοῖς ἑδραίοις, (as [d] *Æschylus* has it) in their proper *sphear* or *seat* such they counted Doves, and the στάσις in matters of Love: as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continuall crowing in matters of War. For hereupon the Augures once foretold the *Thebans* a victory, *Propterea quod avis illa victa silere soleret, vanere, si vicisset*, Cock-fightings indeed were usually σάσεων σημαντικοὶ saith [a] *Artimedorus*, *signes of sedition and discord*. But then you must except the Cock *matches* kept once a year in the Theatre, and instituted by [b] *Themistocles* after the victory gotten over the *Persians*, from them [c] the Cock first came into *Athens*. This bird being alwayes very much lookt upon in matters of Warre, was the occasion that *Mars* was pictured with a Cock: insomuch that it was their ordinary sacrifice to *Mars*, and therefore *Aristophanes in Avibus* calls it Ἀρεῖ τὸν ἴδιον *Mars his own bird*. All birds, saith one) were either μαντικὸν, or μυστικὸν, or θαλάττιον. μαντικὸν (I believe) were not many besides Crowes, and Eagles, and Doves, and Owles the most noted of all. Some of them are thought to have had a kind of language; which the Augures came to understand by being lickt by Snakes, or some such venemous and veneneficall meanes: *Qui credit ista* (saies *Pliny*) *& Melampodi profecto aures, lambendo dediſſe Intellectum avium ſermonis Dracones non abnuet, vel quæ Democritus tradit, nominando aves quarum confuſo ſanguine ſerpens gignatur, quem ſi quiſquam ederit, intellecturus ſit avium colloquia. Euſtathius* saies, that *Helenus* and *Caſſandra* were thus licked cleane into Augures, Ἕλενον γὰρ Κασσάνδραν ἐν ναῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄφεις λαθόντες ὁρεις ᾗ τὰ αὐτῶν ὠσὶ λείξαντες τὰ ὦτα ὀξυηκίας ἐργάσαντο αὐτοῖς μόνους τοὺς ἐξ Ἰλίου ἀκοῦσαι ἐν Ἕλλασι. I am glad I am saved the labour to reprove those fellows *my self*. For it seems that the wiser sort even amongst them, did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a bird's taile, when they had a mind to be serious. Looke in *Homer*, and you shall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamus* the Theban *Augur*

Eurip. in Hec.

a Lib. 3. c. 5.

b Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 28.

c Athen. l. 14.

Rosin.

d In Aristoph. Aves.

Lib. 10. c. 49.

gur (who had diſſwaded him from fighting, by reaſon of ſome thing or other which he had obſerved in the Birds) ſaies hee, *you may, if you thinke good, ſit and gaze upon a few fooliſh birds, till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion.*

Εἰς οἰωνὸὺ ἄριστος ἀμυνέσθαι περὶ πάτρας.

In *Ariſtophanes* you find the birds themſelves *oſcinentes*, *chirping* and *gibing* their ſpectators of their ſuperſtition.

Ἐσμὲν δ' ὑμῶν δαίμων, Διλφοὶ, Δωδώνη, θοὶβῳ Ἀπόλλων,
Βλαβέντες δ' ἄφρον' ἐσ' ὄψεις, ὅπου ἀφὸς ἄνω τι πέπωκε.

CAP. I.

De extiſpicina, & quibuſdam aliis.

DIvination by the Entrals of Beaſts, or *Extiſpina* (for ſo *Aruſpicina*, *Divination in Sacrifices*, is denominated *à potiori* from the beſt part of it (was more common than that former in all places (*Extis omnes ferè utuntur* ſaies *Cicero*:) and eſpecially at *Elis* where it was, by the two families of the *Jamidæ*, and the [a] *Clytidæ*, and *Thelmeſſus* in *Caria* much improved. *Tireſias* had ſo great skill in this art (I cannot ſay *inſight*, becauſe *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindneſſe*) that even after his death, among the Ghoſts there were none but [b] his; *Ulyſſes* himſelf was faine to trouble his ſoul to come back again to give him adviſe. The whole buſineſſe of Divining at the offering of a victime (for there was ſomething elſe to doe beſides poring in the guts) was called ἱερωσύνη. And a very ſolemn buſineſſe it was, being uſually attended with a feaſt, according to that,

[a] Pindar.

[b] τὸν δὲ καὶ τεθνειῶτι νόον πόρε φερσεφόνεια εἶμεν τειρεσίῃ.

Hom. Odyſſ. R.

—ἅπερ τε δαῖτες ἐπιτρέπουσι δαῖσαι.

Eurip. Electr. v. 835.

Θυτικὴ, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀμφιβολὴ; and the act of cutting ἀναμοιτύειν. The ſignes obſerved were moſt properly called σημεῖα, and the obſervers σημαντικοὶ. If the beaſt were drawn by force to the ſlaughter, if it eſcaped by the way, avoided the blow, fell

fell not downe quietly, bled but little, were long a dying, kept beating the ground, they were all ill signs For the two latter of them you have sadly expressed in the sacrifice of *Ægysthus*.

—σὰρ δ' σὺμ' ἄνω κάπτε
Ibid. ἠπτυφεν ἠλάλαζε δυσθύμως φόνῳ.

Ill signs, I say those were; and so was any thing else that either was contrary to nature or use, or put themselves to any trouble. Whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with ease, the beast not striving, and the blood presently darting out, as it is said it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus*.

—αἵματος δ' ἁπήρατα
Idem. v. 1603. Εἰς οἶδμ' ἐπικόπτον θεία

Somewhat there was too, which they observed in the very πάλματα or *wagging* of his tail, whence that in the Poët.

—ἠλέκτρᾳ ποιᾶ κλῶς

The beasts that were thus used were anciently sheep, and Goats, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they say) made use of Sows, and the *Famide* of Dogs; which was the reason why c *Thrasibulus* one of the pedigree was pictured at *Olympia* with a Dog lying by him dissected, and a Weezle (an ominous creature) creeping over his shoulder.

c Paus. in Eliac.

In *Fissiculation* or *cutting* it abroad. they took most notice of the *Liver*, which b *Philostratus* saies they accounted the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chair*, and the *key* of the work. For they thought if the Liver was naught, both the blood and all the rest of the body must needs be so too; insomuch that the work about all the bowels was called ἱππομαντεία, a *looking* into the *liver*. The concavous part of the Liver was called ἑστία *familiaris*, because the signs which they observed there, concerned *themselves and their friends*: the *Gibbous* side, ἐπίβολαι or ἀντιπάλαι *hostilis*, because the tokens in it concerned their *enemies* (as it was with the Romans) The place or *seat* in which all the parts of the liver lay, was called δίξις or δοχή: the place between the parts in the middle πυλαία, and ἐυρυχώρεια, *a Hesychius* cals it ὀδὸς, or ἐκτροπαὶ, *Euripides* πυλάς.

b Ἐν ἱππομαντείᾳ τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ κυρίως ἔχον τὸ τέλος τὰ σπλάγχνα οἱ δὲ ἡνίοχοι ταῦτα.

Hesych.

a Schol. ad Orat. Demost. Coron.

πυλῶς

——πυλαὶ χ' ἁρχὴ πύλας
Καρᾶς ἔφαινον τῇ σκοτίᾳ σφαγιάδας

If there were ἀψὰς (as they called it) too *much dryth*, or ἀσαμὸς a *tye between the parts*, or especially if it were ἄλοβον, or without a *lobus*, it was a very ill sign according to that of *Appian* τὰ σφάγια ἄλοβα εἰς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θανάτου, τὰ δὲ πῦρα ἐς θάνατον. This and other such signs because they were so bad, that they feared to *go any farther in it*; they called ἀκάλλιδα. When they came to handle the heart, they called it καρδιεύειν, or καρδιακεῖν. If it were little, or palpitated much, it was an ill sign. Fat in any part of the bowels was good (κίων ἢ κῶλα συγκαλύπτει) saies *Æschylus*; and so were σκαίσχιον πτύχες, *plaits* and *foldings*, saies *Euripides*. L. 2.

When they came to *burning*, then they were said more properly δι' ἀμπύρων μαντεύεσθαι. At *Delphos* they had πυρκάους *officers* of purpose for the work. The *fire* which they made use of for this occasion, was in most places made of some peculiar fewel, kindled by the beams of the Sun, and kept in a peculiar place. Thus in *Egypt* they had the *Serapheum*, and among the Persians, the fire which they worshiped under the name of *Orimasda*. At *Athens* they had a torch still burning in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgins* constantly there to see it renewed; just as it was at *Delphos*, and at *Rome* in the Temple of *Vesta*. Hesych. Xenoph.

In burning they observed especially the flames, whatever he in *Helena* say to the contrary, where he speaks against all other divinations too. V. 751.

Οὐδ' ἦν ἄρ' ὑγιὲς οὐδὲν ἐμπύρων σέλας.

Good signs in the flame were these, if it went upright without a noise, if it continued till all were consumed: or if it suddenly began to have the latter sign, instead of σχίζαι *cleft wood*, which they used at other time, they would get small dry sticks that would soonest take fire, τὰ φρύγανα, according to that,

Οὐ νῦν δὲ λιπῶ σοι μαντικῶς τὸ φρύγανον πιθέσθαι.

Now indeed many times ἃ δὲ δεῖν ἄσημα καὶ ἄσκεπτ', γινώσκουσιν οἱ πῦρ βλάπτοντες, that is, the Priests being *divinarumque sagaces* Aristoph. in Pace. Sch. in Eurip.

c Sil. Ita'.

c *Flammarum, divined by the burning, when there was nothing seen in the cutting*: and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wool (for which reason *Sophocles* calls the bladders μαλλοδέτους κύστεις) put it into the fire, to observe in what place it brake, and *which way it darted* the Urine, καὶ πῆ πρὸς ἄκοντίζει. Sometimes they took pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there rose but one entire flame, it was taken for a good sign. In matters of hostility, they took most notice of the *gall*, and the ἀκρὰ λαμπάς in the flame: and very good reason, πικρὰ γὰρ ἐχθροῖσι, *for enemies are as bitter as the gall they burnt.* Of the Ashes too they took some notice μαντεῖα καὶ ταῦτα, saies *Sophocles*. In the smoak they observed if it went upright and smelt of the flesh. And so at other times they used to throw frankinsence and Poppey, and other several things in the fire, for nothing else but to observe such things, and to *smell the smoak*. Besides these there were infinite more *Diviliſh* sorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. Νεκρομαντεία or Νεκυομαντεία, was sometimes by the magical use of a *bone*, or a *vein* of a dead body after the fashion of the *Thessalians*, or else by powring hot blood into the carcasse, to make it answer a question, as *Erictho* does in *Lucian*,

Eurip. in Phæn. Μάντεις μᾶλ' ἐσορᾶν, ἢ πυρὸς τ' αἴμα; Ῥάξεις τ' εὐώνυμον ἀχόντ' ἐσω. Νίκης τε σῆμα καὶ τροπὰς πολεμίων.

a In Oedip. Tyr. Καλὸν δ' ἄκαιρα δυμενῶν ἁμαρτάνειν. Horat.

—*Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit*
Protinus astrictus caluit cruor, atque fovit
Vulnera &c.—

Now because the *Ghost* or the *Soul* was thus recalled to the body (—*animas responsa daturas*) it was therefore sometimes termed ψυχομαντεία or Σκιομαντεία, *divining by the Soul*, or the *Ghost*. But such as expected any answer thus from the soul *then*, must be sure to be kind to the body *before*: for *Melissa*, the Wife of *Periander*, refused to answer him, because he had not buried her body as he should. But surely there was somewhat worse than a soul, else what need of *lustration* of the party? Such as *Tiresias* used to the b *Theban* King, to keep him from receiving harm. *Hydromanteia* was sometimes by Sea-water, but most commonly by that of

Herod. l. 6.

b Soph. l. 4.

a

a *fountain*, and ſo was called πηγομαντία. It was done ſeverall wayes 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many a *Poet* too) οἱ τῆς Σπερχείου ὕδατων πίονες μαντικοὶ γινόμενοι, ſaies *Ariſtides* in his *Orat. de Puteo.* 2ly, By throwing things into it to try whether they would ſink or ſwim, as they did *cakes* in the well of *Ino.* 3ly, By *ſeeing the Images* of ſuch things as they ſought for, eſpecially in the Well of *Apollo Thryxeus* in *Achaia.* 4ly, By *dipping a glaſſe* in the water, to know what would become of a *ſick* man. For as he lookt well or ill in the glaſſe, accordingly they preſumed of his future condition. 5ly, By throwing in *three ſtones*, and obſerving the *round* they made in the ſinking. Sometimes they made uſe of Oyl, or of Wine inſtead of Water: and ſo it was termed χύτλα, as when it was done in a Baſon, λεκανομαντία. Λυθομαντία, was by a *Sideritis*, a kind of *loadſtone*, which if they waſht in Spring-water, would ſpeake like a child With ſuch a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the deſtruction of Troy. Κοσκινομαντία, was by a Sive held up by a Thred, or a pair of Sheers. and turning round at the naming of the party that ſtole the thing or the like. Of this *Theoc. Idyl.* 3. And I have ſeen it uſed by ſome women, *impia frande*, or *anili ſuperſtitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not leaſure (neither indeed is it *tanti*) to tell much of other waies of divining, of λιθομαντία, with *Gyges* his *ring*: or of ὀρνιθομαντία with *Eggs*, which *Suidas* ſayes *Orpheus* wrote a book of. Or of κριθομαντία with *barly*, or of λυχνομαντία, by the *burning of a candle*, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Natural Hiſtory*, and by *Aratus* in his *Prognoſticks*. To which you may adde their common old wives-*Sawes* concerning weather or the like, ſuch as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to diſparage thoſe more *Aſtrological* and *Rational*, ſuch as that of *Virgil*:

Paſan. in Lacon.

Li. 36. c. 12.

Luna Revertentem, &c. with the reſt.

CAP. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.

ALL this which I have ſpoken is to conjecture by *things*, but there is a way by *words* alſo, by which according as the words were good or bad, they preſaged ſuch and ſuch events. Such words were called κληδόνες or σύμβολα, from καλεῖν (ſuitable to the name of *Propheta*:) as *omen* comes from *oremẽ, quia fit ore* (quoth *Feſtus*) You may render it *voices* (for ſo we uſe to call thoſe prophetick ſpeeches, which we hear we know not from whence, as the Scripture alſo does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*: *Pythagorei non ſolum voces deorum obſervarunt, ſed etiam hominum*, Any words that either boded ill, or ſignified that which they diſliked, they called λοιδορίας: and he that uſed them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was ſaid to βλασφημεῖν αὐτὸν to *blaſpheme* him ὀνειδίζειν καὶ ἐνυβρίζειν *Euripides* calls it, where he ſpeaks of certain ominous ſpeeches let fall at a feaſt by a ſervant, juſt as one of the company was going to drink

Βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ὑφῆκε πω.

The Latines call it *obſcænare*, and the words themſelues *male ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may engliſh it *hazleing ſpeeches*. Such words as theſe they had alwaies a ſuperſtitious care to avoid: inſomuch that they would ſay inſtead of δεσμωτήριον *or a priſon*, οἴκημα *a houſe*. And ſo for Ἐρινύες, Εὐμενίδες; and Σεμναὶ θεαὶ: for νέκυς, πτῶμα: for μῦς, ἀγαθὸν and the like. For there is a kind of words, which (as *Tully* ſaies of *Nulla ſpes Reipublicæ*) *non licet*, (to ſpeak in the phraſe of *Terence*) *Religio eſt dicere*, they made *a ſcruple to ſpeak*, and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other buſineſſe with the gods, nothing was more ſtrictly commanded and obſerved, than εὐφημεῖν (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy dayes) *to avoid all omineous expreſſions*, or εὐφημίσματα (as they called them.) Which if they were ſpoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to that

1. 1. Divin.

Jon. 1188. Epiſt. ad Caſſium.

Plato l. 7. de Leg.

that party whose businesse was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them so much the worse. What words were especially counted for ominous, you might give me an account, if you could give me *Suetonius* his book, of which we have but the title, *viz. De vocibus malè ominatis.* Only thus much I may tell you, that when they first set about any businesse of concernment, they had a special care to begin with a *Preface* εὐφημίαν, or τὸ εὐφημεῖν, or ἐυφημίαν ἄγειν, like to *Persius* his *hoc benè sit*, & that old thread-bare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum, felix, fortunatúmque sit.* Some words there were, and Proper names of such a signification, as it was counted a happinesse but to hear them spoken. For so when *Jülus* had said

Mensas etiam consumimus—presently (sayes *Virgil*) his father laid hold on the *word* and imbraced the omen,

—*ea vox audita laborum*
Prima tulit finem, primúmque loquentis ab ore
Eripuit pater—

So *Leotychides*, when he desired of a *Samian* his assistance against the *Persians*, asked what his name was, and being answered *Hegesistratus*, reply'd, *I embrace the omen* in the *nomen*, or Ἡγησίστρατος δέχεμαι τὸ οἰωνόν for δέχεσθαι τὸν οἰωνόν, is the same with *them*, that *accipere omen* is with the *Latines*, that is, to make an omninous speech an omen indeed, and *take* it to my self. For indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen: *ostentorum vires in eorum erant potestate, quibus ostendebantur*, sayes *Pliny*.

Now the way to *abominate* an *omen*, was either to fling a stone at the *thing*, if it were an ominous *creature*, as a Cat, or the like: or else if it were an unlucky *speech*, to retort it back again with ἐς κεφαλήν σοι, *tibi in caput redeat, let it return upon thine own head.* Which perhaps, is an expression borrowed from a custome of the ἱεροσκόποι, not only among them, but among the Ægyptians also, who when they spied any thing of the *victims*, that seemed to portend ill to their country, used to pray ἐς κεφαλὴν τῶν προτεραίων, that it *might return upon the head of the beast.* The like perhaps is used in the Hebrew,

Herodot.

Obadiæ v. 15. & 1 Kings 2. v 44. &c. Hebrew, *viz.* שוב בראש in several places of the Scripture: and it puts me in mind of that saying in *Seneca*, *Quis non si admoneatur ut de suis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen respuat, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipsius intempestivi monitoris abire illa jubeat.* Instead of this sometimes they would say εἰς ἀγαθὸν μοι, *dii monuerint meliora.* Sometimes upon such an unlucky Mosch. Idyl. speech heard while they did such a thing, they would do it *another way*: or do it *again*: as one in *Euripides*, upon somebody speaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground, and called for another cup.

Things ominous, some of them were in the parties own bodys, and those were either. 1. *Marks*, such as ἁλίαι *spots* like oyle. 2. Παλμοὶ 3. Πταρμοὶ. σαλεύσεις ὀφθαλμῶν, ὀτοσμοὶ, were such as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muscles, called in Latine *Saliſſationes*, and βόμβος, or *tinnitus aurium*: which if it were the tingling of the *right* ear, it was as good as the palpitation of the *right eye*. Of these things *Melampus* the great Fortune teller wrote one book to *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*: and *Posidonius* another (saies *Suidas*) which he called Παλμικὸν ὀνείρισμα.

Πταρμὸς *Sneezing*, was so superstitiously esteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a *god*, ἢ πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγούμεθα, saies *Aristotle* in his Problems. Which was the reason, saith *Athenæus*, that they abstained from eating the *brain*, out of which the sneezing came: as also the cause of that usual prayer of salutation Ζεῦ σῶσον at a sneezing: according to that jeer of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long nose, as if it had stood so far out, that he could not hear himself when he sneezed.

Οὐδὲ λέγει, Ζεῦ σῶσον, ὅταν πταίσῃ, ἢ γδοῦπόν

Τις φρενὸς ἔκλυε πολὺ γὰρ μακρὸς διέχει.

Insomuch that if a man sneezed at such a *time*, or on such a *side*, they were either perswaded to, or discouraged from the businesse undertaken. *Socrates* (as *emunctæ naris* as he was) had so little *sense* himself, as to fetch advice from another mans *nose*, and to make a Sneeze serve instead of a genius or a *daemonium*, to tell him the good and the bad;

Cassium. Plutarch. de

for

for it did both, according to circumſtances. If a man Sneez'd in the *afternoon* it was a good omen; but ill in the morning; and the reaſon is diſputed by *Ariſtotle* in his *Problems*. If a man Sneezed at table while they were taking away, or if another happned to ſneeze on the *left* hand of a man; then beware, all is not right. But if it happned on the other hand, all was well. If I may take *Euphrantides* his judgement, encouraging *Themiſtocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground than ſuch a ſneeze, ἅμα ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐπτάμενος. Such a ſneeze while *Xenophon* was making his ſpeech, was enough to make him a General. But another, while he perſwaded the Souldiers to fight, was to them ſuch an omen of ill luck, that they were fain to nuncupate a publick vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) *ordinarily* it was reckon'd for *good*; as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was, preſently after a ſpeech made of *Ulyſſes* his return, and revenging himſelf of his enemies.

Ὡς ἔφατ', πηλέμαχος δὲ μάλ' ἔπτυσεν — and ſo *Penelope* took it (for ſaies ſhe laughing and rejoycing) Οὐκ ἐφάτω ἐμὸς υἱὸς ἐπιπλαγξ πᾶσιν ἔπεσθαι. And the reaſon may be becauſe ſneezing is commonly *healthy* and *wholeſome*, πυκνὸν ὄφελος: which perchance was underſtood by the aforeſaid *Euphrantides*, when he added ἔτι γὰρ σωτηρίαν τινὰ καὶ νίκην ἐσήμαινε τοῖς Ἕλλησι. But now at laſt I muſt tell you of *this* way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long ago ſlighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiſer ſort, for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the Souldiers happned to ſneeze, as he was going on ſhipboard being therefore diſſwaded from going by the Maſter of the ſhip, burſt out a laughing and ſaid, τίνον γὰρ οἰωνισμὸν ἐν τοσούτοις στρατιώταις εἷς ἔπταρε, *What great Omen can it be for one man to ſneeze, when there be ſo many together.* But among the *Romans* a great deale more: for *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries, *Quæ ſi ſuſcipiamus & pedis offenſio nobis, & corrigiæ abruptio, & ſternutamenta erunt obſervanda.* L. 2. de Div.

Ominous *actions* or *accidents*, were ſuch as theſe following. Firſt at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much uſed, to take a piece:

piece of the *cake* or *any* other thing; and carry it home *bonæ ſcævæ gratia*, as we ſay, *for the lucks ſake*. This piece of cake, or pudding, or what ſhall I call it, they called by the name of [a] *ὑγίεια ſanitas*: If in ſacrificing the Prieſt did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unluckie *accident*. This obſervation the Romans called, *caducum auſpicium*. Secondly, at a *Feaſt* this action was luckie, to crown the Cup with a Garland *paterámque Corona induit*. The reaſon (ſaies *Euſtathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, becauſe a Garland repreſents a circle, *τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστα σχήματα ἐν τέλει καὶ ἄριστα ἔχον, which is the moſt compleat figure of all, and holds moſt*. Unlucky *accidents* were ſuch as theſe, *viz.* The coming in of a ſtrange black dogge, the cracking of a table, the ſpilling of wine, (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit than to write a book) taking away while one was drinking, or a ſuddain ſilence. In putting on of the cloathes the right ſide muſt be ſerved firſt; and therefore if a ſervant had but given his maſter the *left* ſhooe firſt, he was ſure to have it. And thus much at *Home*. *Abroad* they had for their Omens, *σύμβολα ἐν ὁδῷ*, or *σύμβολοι ὁδοῦ*. That is (ſaies the *Scholiaſt*) *τὰ ἀπαντῶντα ξυναπαντῶντες, occurſacula, any thing that met them firſt*. Of ſuch as theſe one named *Hippocrates* (not the Phyſitian) and another named *Pollos* wrote their books. If a Snake lay ſo in the way, as to part the company: or if they met with a Hare, or a Bitch with whelps, or a Fixon with Cubs: Oh! theſe things were *δυσαπάντητα δυσοιώνιστα καὶ ἀποτρόπαια διάπυστα*, *abominanda & averruncanda*, abominable ſights. So if a man happened to meet with a Black-more, or an Ape, or an Eunuch, *καὶ πόδα ἀναχώρει*, ſaith *Lucian*, *he muſt ſtand forty foot off*. Nay if we meet with a Weezle or ſuch a creature in the croſſe-way, we will have no *Comitia* ſit for all this day. And [c] *Artemidorus* will give you a reaſon, why *γαλῆ* ſhould be ſo much taken notice of, in his *d* *παρασήμῳ*, or running by: becauſe (forſooth) it is *ἰσόψηφος τοῖς ἕξ*, that is, (as I think) the letters in each word will ſignifie the ſame number, *viz.* 42. But if it be ſo, how came ſhe to be ſuch an enemy to *δίκη*, as to interrupt the courſe of *juſtice*? perhaps it

[a] Ὑγίεια ἀλεῖται οἶνον ἐμπλεόν πεσοῦσα μένει, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς φερόμενον, εἴτε μύρον, εἴτε ἄλλο τι. ſaies Heſychius. ὀδοικέντες ὁμιλεῖν τὸ κατὰ τὰ στόματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀφθὲν πρῶτον ἀποφεύγειν. Chryſoſtom.

[b] In Ariſtoph. Av. Suidas.

Lucian

Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ.

[a] L. 3.

[b] Plutarch. de Philadel.

Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ.

it was onely then, when they omitted that usual ceremony, of leading her about the house for a *lustration*, to purge it of *unluckie* things. Infinite many more sorts of Divinations might I mention of this kind, but it will sufficiently testifie what regard the Grecians had of such Bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes *Apollo Spondius* himself had his *Altars*, and his prophecying by Omens μαντικὸν ἐκ κληδόνων. So likewise at *Smyrna* he had his κληδόνων ἱερὸν his *Temple* for Omens too (sayes *Pausanias*) where the fashion was for him that came for an Omen, first to whisper his question in the *Idols* eares, and then presently stopping his own, to go forth of the Temple, and the first voice heard after he came out must go for the Oracle. And so much of Divining by a conjecture by art. One word or two of lots, and Ile have done.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

THis way of Divination is clean different from the former because in it (as *Cicero* sayes) *temeritas & casus, non ratio & consilium valet*. For though there might be *casus* of the *things* in the former, yet there was skill withall in the *person* to give signification. It was *invented* by *Minerva*: onely *Jupiter* took away her *credit*, to make the better trading for *Apollo*. *Casting*, or *Drawing* lots, was either with ἀστράγαλοι, or *tali cast* into a box: or with *tesserae* (γραμματῖα *Plutarch* calls them) little wooden tables with *letters* upon them *drawn* out of a pot; or *calculi* little *balls* of earth, with marks upon them for the names, sometimes taken out of a pot, and sometimes thrown into a well) whether to see which came up first, or how it was I cannot tell) *Pausanias* speaks of the wooden tables, that they were used in the temple of *Hercules* Βουλαῖος in *Achaia*. And the like (they say) were usd by the *Parliament of five hundred*, with the characters of the ten first letters upon them, to shew to which of the ten Courts every Judge was to go (together with the Image

In Fabio.

De iis supra.

mage of a rod the enſign of *Mercury*, the god of *Lots*) he that had the Alpha, went to that Court which had the ſign of *Alpha*, & they had the reſt to the Courts that bare the names of the letters. *One* of theſe waies or *all* (which I know not) was ſo much uſed by the *Thriæ* (the *three Nymphes* reported to have been the nurſes of *Apollo*) that at length the word *thriæ* came to be uſed for *ſortes, lots*, according to that

Πολλοὶ θριοξόλοι παῤ ἐμοὶ δὲ τε μάντις ἀνὴρ

Calculi were much uſed in *ancient* times in *Judging of cauſes*, and in *wreſtling matches*, and the like: though (it ſeems) in *Ciceros* time not ſo much, *Quis enim magiſtratum, aut quis*
Li. 2. Divin. *vir illuſtrior utitur ſortibus, cæteri vero in locis planè refrixerunt.* In their *Wreſtling matches* I have read that they had a ſilver *pot* called the κάδος, into which they put little *pellets* about the bigneſs of a bean, according to the number of the men, two with one mark: and thoſe that happened to draw the *ſame* mark were to Wreſtle together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named κοσμήτην) was to *come in at Kings*, as we ſay) or to wreſtle at laſt with him that had the maſtery. How they uſed them in *Judging of Cauſes*, has been ſhewed
Pag 118. by another already. But that they were uſed alſo by perſons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Ariſtophanes in pace*. For by reaſon that one only was to be put to death in one day, and ſometimes the judgement was reverſed, the Priſoners did caſt lots who was to dye firſt, and he that drew firſt, was commonly called by the name of Ἑρμῆς the *Mercury*. Thus in the ſhip in a ſtorm, they uſed to caſt lots who ſhould be thrown over board for a καθάρσιον. Thus *En-*
* L. 7. *ſtathius* ſayes, the lot fell to * *Iſmene*, juſt as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. And ſo in moſt of the Temples, that were reſorted unto for Oracles, there were οἱ κλῆροι *Lots* and a table
Pyth Od. 4. of purpoſe to *throw* for it; after the receiving of the anſwer, for ἢν ϛάλωτόν μοι τὸ ϛ ἀναβῇ, καὶ πλεόνων τὸ ϛ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐκ ἐκπλεύσεται. (ſaies the σν upon *Pindar*) *if I throw ſuch a caſt the propheſy will be fulfilled, If I do not, it will not.* Nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and the croſſe waies they had their

ſortes,

sortes vialis (ἀνδίνι πυζόμενε *Æschylus* calls them, and ἐνόδιος is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans. For the party that would know his fortune, carried so many cuts about him, with several inscriptions: and the next boy he met with in the way as he went, he bid him draw: and if that which came forth, agreed with that which he had in his mind: it went for as good a Prophesy as the best, according to that of *Tibullus Eleg.* 1.

Ille sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit; illis
Rettulit è triviis omnia certa puer.

Artemidorus in his *Proœmium* speaks of οἱ ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντεις, Diviners in the *Market*. The originall of this divination *Plutarch* in his book *de Iside, & Osiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. For when *Typho* had put *Osiris* in a chest, and thrown him into the Sea, *Isis*, as he was wandering too and fro to seek him, happened upon a company of boyes at play, and asking of them, they shewed him the place, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ παιδιᾷ μαντικὴν ἔχουν δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦ Ὁμήρου τὰ τύχη λαμβάνοντες παίζοντων ἐκ τύχης ἢ προσταττόντων τινὲς ἐν τῷ χορῷ. Besides these wayes already mentioned, they had another, by opening such a Poet in one or more places, and taking the first verses they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called ψυχομαντεία, or βαβδομαντεία. And of this are meant the *Sortes Homericæ* we read of. And *Virgilianæ* which they say *Severus Alexander* made use of, when he met with this verse of *Virgil*.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Nay the Christians themselves have not stickt to practise the like upon the Bible, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregor.* Ἀνοίξαι τινὰς δεῖν ἐν βιβλίῳ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου. And thus *Hercules* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have askt counsel out of the New Testament, καὶ εὗρεν ἐπιτρέποντα ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ παραχειμάσαι, and to have been thereby perswaded to Winter in *Albania*. Sometimes they would make choice of divers fatidical verses, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Austin. l. 4. Confes. cap.* 3. Makes mention of these lotteries. *Si enim de Paga-*

nis poeta cujuspiam longè aliud canentis atque intendentis, cum sortem quis consulit, mirabiliter consonus negotio sæpè versus exiret. And this way they say that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. But thus much may suffice of κλῆρος *sortes*, for by κλῆρος in the *singular* number, is many times meant the hint, or occasion given Diviners to speak what they did.

g. In Eurip. Hippol. τὸ γὰρ θεῖον τὸ δεδόσθαι τισὶ μαντικὴν ἀρ' ἦν αἱ μάντεις ὁμοίως ἐψεύδοντο ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων.

For the Diviners themselves, *Vates*, or μάντεις as they did but little better than *feign* like Poets; so they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Laurel about their heads, as the Poet [a] sayes of *Cassandra* [b] χλωρὰ δόμων στεφανοῦσ' ἐξάρχει κομπασθεῖσα. For why? *Venturi præsaga laurus.* The Laurel they took to be a thing of special and soveraign vertue, both to set a man a Prophecying (and therefore *Eurip.* calls it θεσπέσιον δάφνην) and to preserve him from any evill, and therefore very much used in Lustrations; insomuch that they would commonly have the staves they carried in their hands, to be made of Laurel wood. They had their dyet in the *Prytaneum* like *publick* persons. χρῆσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αὐτῇ ἐν τῷ ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσει, sayes the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*. There was one more *noted* Fraternity of them, called the μυκάδαι, τὸ δόσει τις ἢ ὀργῇ μάντεσι, sayes *Hesych.* Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis*. The eldest was of *Eleon* in *Bœotia*; the next of *Athens* (be that cured the *Lacedæmonian* women of their madnesse) and the youngest of *Caphua* in *Arcadia*, of *Locris* some men say, otherwise called κυνὸς and Αλύπης. Answering to these three *men*, the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (in *Irene*) sayes there were three *Women* Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sybilla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythræa*, and *Sardiaca*. But the first (I believe) had most of the *Spirit of* [c] *Python*, *and brought her Master most gain by Southsaying.*

a Eurip. Iphi. in A v. 757.
b In Androm.
c Acts c. 16. v. 16.

And

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done ſo much ſo ill allready, I muſt be forced to do more yet; and excuſe one fault with another. For my deſire is to leave thee fully ſatisfied with my reaſons why I did it at all, and why I did it no better. The cords that drew *me to do it (and* drawn *I was) were* three, *ſuch as twiſted together* I *could by no means break,* viz. *Firſt the importunity of my friend.* 2. *The neceſſity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Cuſtomes, for the underſtanding of Authors: and* 3. *The hopes which I had, by Employment (as by an* Iſſue) *to divert my humour of Melancholy another way. The cauſes why I did no* better, *are as many* viz. *Firſt want of years and judgement, having done the moſt part of it in my* Tirocinium (*when I took more delight in theſe ſtudies*) *as appears by the number of the Authors which I have cited. Secondly, want of health. And thirdly, want of time and leaſure, being called away by occaſions, that might not be neglected, and by friends that could not be diſobeyed. If yet I have given thee but little light, and my labour and oyle be not all loſt, I have as much as I deſired my ſelf, and thou haſt no more than I owed thee.*

Z. BOGAN.

Μέσσην τὸν οἰσὸν δ' ἔχον; Ἐρεβινθίην
Μετ' ἔρις ἀγχὶ δύω, Παλίρροος δ' ὄμι. Σῶμα χθονὸς
Ἄλλος ἐδώκεα ψυχλὼ, εἶφ' ψυχὴ ἐστιλόχεια.
Ἦ σύ, Πίσον, Πλάρωμα, τὸ φὼν σάρωμα, τιτᾶξω·
Εὖγε, τὸ δ' Ἐνώπων ἄρχεῖα Σὺ μᾶλλον ἐγ' αἰεὶ
Μᾶλλον ἀποζώδεσιν Σκυδιχῇ καμμιμόμα τέρμα.

Ἐκδόσει εἰ ἢ νέα τί νέον; πάρος, ὄρκι, ἔροττε,
Θρίπεξ, λεχὶ, Ἰκάπω, Μαστοσύνη, Πίλεμος.

R. WARRE,

è C. C. C.

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